The Tyrant-Slayers of Ancient Athens

A Tale of Two Statues

Vincent Azoulay

Translated by
Janet Lloyd

Foreword by
Paul Cartledge

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For Cécile, Carmen, and Alice

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FOREWORD

‘Statues are not history in the sense of having significant pedagogical value. They are political symbols, which drift in and out of favour along with political and aesthetic tastes.’ This is not actually a quotation from the distinguished monograph which it is my privilege and pleasure to introduce here*—but it might well have been. For from the Tyrant-Slayers (capital T), that is, the statues of the two so-called or alleged Athenian tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogiton, to the statue of Cecil Rhodes that today (dis)graces Oriel College, Oxford University, and that prompted Alex von Tunzelmann’s remark quoted above (*History Today*, March 2016, p. 7), there runs a thin red (or blue) line of revolution, reaction, and counter-reaction. They may or may not have pedagogical value, significant or otherwise, but they certainly do have massively significant iconographic value, and it is rather remarkable that the present work is the first proper book-length history of a key artefact of one of the Western world’s most critical political junctures, a transformative episode in the history of democracy itself.

For once, the sadly abused term ‘icon’ is literally as well as figuratively apt as an evaluative descriptor for the two late Archaic/early Classical period Athenian Tyrant-Slayer statues. They are images or pictures not just of two persons but of a deed, and they are not just images or pictures but a commemorative monument, what the Greeks themselves from Herodotus onwards would label an *ergon* (literally ‘work’). Hence, unlike the resolutely stone Oxonian figure of Rhodes, both the original Athenian pair of statues and its replacement group were made of the copper alloy preferred for major public commissions and private dedications in the ancient Greek world of the time. It is only an accident of history that the surviving ancient exemplar, of the Roman imperial period (in the Farnese collection since 1586, now in the Naples Archaeological Museum, heavily restored), is of marble, not bronze. And whereas the Rhodes statue is located in a niche on the front of a building, the Tyrant-Slayers were freestanding, standing proud indeed in Athens’s main civic-political square, the sacred Agora (or Place of Assembly) within sight of and in close mutual interconnection with the Acropolis and its multiple politico-religious associations.

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* The French original, derived from Azoulay’s habilitation, is *Les Tyrannicides d’Athènes. Vie et mort de deux statues* (Paris: Seuil, 2014). Reviews in English include *BMCR* 2015.01.23 (Catherine M. Keesling) and *CR* 65.2 (2015) 612-13 (Robin Osborne). See also V. Azoulay, ‘The Tyrannicides of Athens, A Place of Political Memory’, http://eutopiamagazine.eu/en/vincent-azoulay/columns/yrannicides-athens-place-political-memory (trans. Jennie Dorny and Raimes Combes).

The Tyrant-Slayers of Ancient Athens operates along three main historiographical dimensions: the mythopoetic, the political, and the sexual. But art-historians, historians of the manipulation of public space, and connoisseurs of reception-history will not be at all disappointed, either. Herodotus was perfectly well aware of the distinction between myth in the sense of traditional tale, true to fact or not, and history, the result of critical enquiry designed to sift fact from fiction or fancy and then explain an actual significant past. The Athenians, that is, most ordinary Athenians, were not and could not care less. For them, the story or myth of the Tyrant-Slayers was not simply true, in the sense that once upon a time Harmodius and Aristogiton had (in their convinced opinion) killed a tyrant, Hipparchus, but also culturally significant as one of the key, if not the key, foundation myths of their entire political system: democracy, people-power. How the possibly sordid and probably personal killing of actually the younger brother of the sole tyrant Hippias got transmuted and transmogrified into a heroic tale of liberationist derring-do is one aspect of the great story that Vincent Azoulay has to tell.

The idea of the justifiable assassination of a tyrant is hardly peculiar to ancient Greece, let alone ancient Athens; even their word *turannos* from which we derive 'tyrant' was probably a loan-word from their neighbours of Lydia in west-central Anatolia. (Randall D. Law's *Terrorism: A History*, Polity Press, 2009, includes many, many other examples.) But the Greeks did make a pretty good job of it. Phalaris of Acragas in Sicily, Polycrates of the island-state of Samos, Dionysius I of Syracuse, Jason of Thessalian Pherae, Clearchus of Heraclea on the Black Sea—these are just some of the tyrants who got the assassin's chop (or poison) between the mid-sixth and mid-fourth centuries B.C. So the killing of Hipparchus in 514 fits neatly into a pattern, apparently. But does it? Actually, as it requires the acuity of a Dr Azoulay to bring out in full, it did not and does not. It is precisely because of its unique or at least compellingly distinctive features that the deed of Harmodius and Aristogiton was handed down in a blaze of glory—or infamy.

The commissioning and creation of a commemorative bronze sculpture-group from the hand of Antenor, probably within a decade of the deed, were the first outward and visible signs of an unusual inward and spiritual reaction. The toss can be argued—and is brilliantly by Azoulay—over when and how and where this first Tyrant-Slayers statue-group was erected. What is not in doubt is that some twenty-five to thirty years later, during the Graeco-Persian Wars recorded by Herodotus, it was stolen amid the rape and pillage of Athens in 480 B.C., either on the direct orders of Persian Great King Xerxes or with his subsequent blessing, and removed to one of his great capitals, Susa in Elam in west-central Iran. There it was somehow preserved for upwards of a century and a half before being returned, or perhaps one should say ‘restituted’, either by Alexander the Great of Macedon or by one of his successor kings, Antiochos I or Seleucos I. So keenly was the loss felt that a replacement group was immediately commissioned by the liberated democratic Athenians and set up—or perhaps better ‘consecrated’—on the Agora in 477/476. It is this group, not the former, that exercised its iconographic magic over the coming decades, centuries, and indeed millennia. Not the least of the persuasively original features of this book is the claim that it was the example of the Tyrant-Slayers’ iconography that led to the rage in the ancient Greek and Roman worlds for commemorating or worshipping supposed heroes or rulers with public statues—a rage that has taken on quite another meaning in our iconoclastic era of symbolic tyrant-toppling. Goodbye Lenin and Mao, indeed.

Demokratia, whenever the term was first coined, is a compound of *kratos*, power or strength or grip, and *demos*, ‘People.’ The latter, however, is formally ambiguous and so ambivalent: it could mean either the People as a whole; that is, all the politically empowered citizen people, or the masses, the poor, lower-class, non-élite majority of the citizens. Harmodius and Aristogiton were Athenians, and citizens, but by no stretch of the imagination were they or could they easily be conceived to have been ordinary, poor, lower-class citizens. *Au contraire*. So, how come an ordinary poor Athenian might be persuaded enthusiastically to embrace the new-fangled notion that they were democratic champions, on the side of the masses and prepared to put their sword where their mouth was? It was a massive sleight of mythopoetic hand that worked, but why? One reason, as Azoulay properly emphasises, was that the Athenians needed somehow or other to hide the most uncomfortable fact of all about the assassination of Hipparchus; namely that—whatever its motivation—it did not actually end the tyranny of Hippias. That was as a matter of historical fact terminated, not by direct action of any Athenian or Athenians but—horrors—by a force of invading Spartans, with whom the tyrant family had once been on good terms, and with whom the Athenians collectively from about the time of the commission of the replacement Tyrant-Slayers group were not on good terms at all. Better, much better, to place in the liberationist frame posh élites who were at least locals, and thus to enhance the democratic hall of fame with human, all too human, icons. Another reason was the currency of the ‘Harmodius-song’: an élite creation of the upper-class symposium in origin, it credited the murderous pair with rendering Athens ‘isonomous’; that is, bestowing upon the city the ineffable quality of *isonomia*, or equality under the laws. That was precisely the term fastened upon by early pro-democratic ideologues to characterize their—actually brand-new—regime of *demokratia*.

Whatever its motivation—here was another reason for the democratic Athenians to draw an increasingly thick and heavy veil over the real dynamics and mechanics of the murder of Hipparchus. At least that is so if we are to credit one of the earliest extant versions that has come down to us, in the hypercritical history of Thucydides (*c.* 400 B.C.), who uses the episode precisely as a case-study in the fallibility of popular understandings of key past events. For him, not only was Hipparchus not a ruling tyrant, and therefore Harmodius and the older Aristogiton were not properly speaking 'Tyrant'-slayers, but it was not at all to achieve liberation from tyranny for all Athenians that they committed their deed—and moreover committed it, sacrilegiously, under cover of the single most important politico-religious festival of the Athenian year, the Great or City Panathenaea, honouring the birthday of the city's patron-goddess, Athena Polias. Rather, though not related by birth or marriage, Harmodius and Aristogiton were, Thucydides implied but did not state outright, intimately connected as lovers. And the slaying of Harmodius was the outcome of a complicated inter-family quarrel involving a woman, Harmodius' sister, as well as the three males.

Somewhat recalling the relationship of Patroclus to Achilles in Homer's *Iliad*, where the sexual dimension if any was only discreetly hinted at, but classical Athenians unhesitatingly took them to be lover and beloved, so Thucydides' coy implication of a sexual relationship between Aristogiton and Harmodius was explicitly embraced in popular legend as one of full-on *paederastia*, literally sexual desire (*eros*) for a sub-adult boy (*pais*). 'Greek love' is a highly complex topic, in practice and concept in antiquity no less than in today's scholarly discussion. Azoulay's sensitive handling of this aspect of the story is not the least of his book's many virtues. But it is just one part of what may come as a surprise to some readers, but is now wholly in accord with one of the most powerful contemporary movements in Classical scholarship, the determined focus on how the ancient world has been 'received'—that is, understood, reconfigured, re-purposed—since the Renaissance. The nuanced Epilogue, by no means an afterthought, is devoted precisely to the 'rebirth' of the Tyrant-Slayers statue group in the West since the sixteenth century.

So far I have only barely hinted at what is probably, appropriately, the most contentious—and stimulating—of Azoulay's contentions. The Athenian Agora was, in the most literal, physical sense, a public space. To that Azoulay wishes to add—following Jurgen Habermas's *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (MIT Press, 1989, German original 1962)—a notional, conceptual space, a space of conflicting constructions, metaphorical and metaphysical rather than material. For Azoulay, the Tyrant-Slayers statue group participated vigorously in both spaces. Transforming the transgressive deed of bloody homicide into a site of ideally harmonious collective memory did not happen easily or without resistance. Being neither a funerary monument nor honorific effigies, the statue group hovers uneasily between several interpretative registers and thus causes major embarrassment—to both modern and ancient interpreters alike. Finally, the group is visually striking, thanks to its erotic complementarity that could evoke sexual desire no less than political ambition. In short, for thematic, functional, and visual reasons, this is a piece of monumental sculpture with an inexhaustible capacity to create discourses and trigger controversies. Long may that, and they, continue.

Paul Cartledge
Clare College, Cambridge

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As with books, so with statues: whether engraved in marble or printed on glossy paper, the name of the author tends to eclipse the collective efforts that underlie the birth of a work. So let me here name the good fairies who bent over the cradle of these Tyrannicides: first and foremost the members of the jury who, on the basis of the present, then unpublished, book, assessed my habilitation to become a Director of Research. François Lissarrague sponsored the entire undertaking: his humanity, humour, and way of bringing Greek images back to life have for many years provided me with an example at once daunting and inspiring. I also benefited from Pauline Schmitt Pantel's ruthless reading of my text, and the wise comments of Pascal Payen and François Hartog, both of them very concerned that the dialogue between Antiquity and the social sciences should continue unabated. The trenchant remarks of Francis Prost on both archaeological and historical matters enabled me to improve my manuscript at several decisive junctures. As for John Ma, 'the statue man', I can hardly express the magnitude of my debt to his joyful erudition and his astute reflections on honorific statues—reflections that were the starting-point for the present project.

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The Tyrant-Slayers of Ancient Athens

Introduction

THE COUNTRY
My son, I am in chains, my son, I am your mother!
I stretch out my arms to you from the depths of my prison.
HARMODIUS
What! Strike him down, at night, as he returns home!
What! Before this black night, before these endless seas!
Strike him with a dagger, in this black and gloomy emptiness
Amid such darkness and immensity!
CONSCIENCE
You can kill this man with a clear conscience.

Victor Hugo, 'The Sea Shore', *Les Châtiments*

Athens, mid-July 514 B.C.: Hipparchus, one of the sons of the tyrant Pisistratus, was plunged in deep thought. 'In the night before the Panathenaea he thought that a tall and goodly man stood over him uttering these riddling verses':

Bear an unbearable lot; O lion, be strong for the bearing:
No man on earth doth wrong (*adikōn)* but at last shall suffer requital.

These enigmatic verses reported by the historian Herodotus (5.56), in the condensed manner peculiar to dreams, convey the dark legend of the tyranny, as it crystallised after the fall of the tyrants, in the fifth century: theirs was a crushing rule, both unjust and doomed to disappear. Crushing, so Hipparchus is likened to a lion, thereby suggesting that the Pisistratids ruled Athens as lions rule over other animals[1]; unjust since, unlike a king, who is subject to the laws,[2] a tyrant wields a power that is illegitimate and is characterised by injustice (*adikia*) and excess (*hubris*).[3] And it is, furthermore, unstable, in that the faults of the tyrant lead inexorably to his undoing, in accordance with a mechanism explored so often on the Athenian tragic stage. For there is a prophetic dimension to Hipparchus' dream: the son of Pisistratus is doomed to an ineluctable death.

Upon awaking, Hipparchus, disturbed, summoned the experts in dream interpretation. They duly warned him of the doom-laden nature of his dream, but he nevertheless decided to ignore this and pursue his normal occupations. Typical tyrant, you may say: the very embodiment of the *hubris* so characteristic of those who, over-confidently, simply dismiss the warnings sent by the gods. But over and above that moral interpretation, Herodotus' account testifies to the tragic origins of history: just as, in the theatre, the tyrant has to die when the day and the hour come, for he cannot escape the implacable fatality dictated by the gods.[4]

In any case, Hipparchus really had no choice. On this July morning in 514, the atmosphere was festive, for the Athenians were preparing to celebrate the Great Panathenaea, which occurred only once every four years and inaugurated the civic and religious year. Hipparchus could not, on any pretext, fail to take part in these festivities that his father Pisistratus has totally reorganised, rendering them ever more illustrious.[5] Besides, Hipparchus' elder brother Hippias was already at work, outside the Ceramicus—the potters' and craftsmen's quarter—surrounded by his bodyguards. He was organising the great procession that linked the Acropolis—the religious heart of the city. Everything had to be perfect on this day that celebrated the unity of the Athenians clustered around their guardian deity, Athena.

This was the precise moment that two Athenians, Harmodius and Aristogiton, had chosen for their attempt to assassinate the tyrants. Thucydides, the only writer to describe the episode in detail, tells the story as follows (6.57):

> Harmodius and Aristogiton, who were ready with their daggers, stepped forward to put their scheme into effect. But when they saw one of their accomplices talking familiarly with Hippias, who was accessible to all, they took fright, thinking that they had been informed upon and would in a moment be arrested. So, wishing first to take vengeance, if they could, upon the one who had aggrieved them and because of whom they were risking all, they rushed, just as they were, within the gates and came upon Hipparchus at the place called Leocoreion. And at once, falling upon him recklessly and as men will in extreme wrath, the one inflamed by jealousy, the other by insult, they smote and slew him. Aristogiton, indeed, escaped the guards for the moment, as the crowd ran together, but afterwards was caught and handled in no gentle manner; but Harmodius perished on the spot.

So Hipparchus died, along with his attackers, leaving the city rife with disturbances and unrest. Was this the end to the tyranny? Certainly not, as both Herodotus and Thucydides agree. Hippias continued to rule, and it was not until four years later, in 510 B.C., that Athens was finally liberated from the rule of the Pisistratids: at the instigation of the Alcmaeonid family, the Spartans launched a military expedition that forced Hippias into exile (5.62.2–63.1). And it was a further two years before this political upheaval found institutional expression, in 508–507 B.C.: at this point, thanks to the Alcmaeonid Cleisthenes, a series of reforms was introduced, deeply modifying the political organisation of the city and laying the foundations for the democracy that flourished over the course of the fifth century.

From being simply a sudden reversal or *peripeteia* (to use a term associated with tragedy), in the collective memory of the Athenians, the murder of Hipparchus progressively became the very symbol of the struggle against tyranny and the fight for liberty. In the fifth century, Harmodius and Aristogiton were fêted as the tyrannicides,[6] not only in private banquets, through the intermediary of a song composed to glorify them, but also within the greater public space, thanks to the annual sacrifices that were organised by one of the city's most prestigious magistrates. Above all, they were granted the exceptional privilege of being represented in Athens' main square, the Agora, in the form of statues, as the liberators of their country. Two statuary groups of their images were successively erected there. The first, sculpted by Antenor, appeared at some point that is hard to determine, between the exile of Hippias, in 510, and the capture of the city by the Persians, in 480; a second group, sculpted by Critius and Nesiotes, was set up in 477–476, to replace the bronzes produced by Antenor, which Xerxes had carried off to adorn one of his royal capitals.

The present work is devoted to the chequered history of those two monuments. The statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton are indeed monuments in the strongest sense of the term—firstly as *Monumenta* in the etymological sense: funerary figures erected in memory of the murderers of Hipparchus; secondly as artistic monuments, for the group produced by Critius and Nesiotes is generally recognised as marking the advent of the Classical style of art[7]; and finally, as political monuments, to the extent that the statues of the Tyrannicides became one of the symbols of Athenian civic identity and remained so throughout the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

Clearly, these effigies deserve to be studied for their own sake, particularly since we are fortunate enough to have at our disposal an exceptionally massive collection of relevant documentation. There are, of course, archaeological sources: even though the original sculptures had disappeared by the end of Antiquity, a number of copies dating from the Roman period make it possible to reconstitute credible representations of the statues sculpted by Critius and Nesiotes; to these can be added the iconographic echoes of the sculpted group that were produced on a variety of materials such as ceremonial vases, an honorific throne, and even coins, and these attest to the popularity of the effigies as early as the fifth century. Epigraphical sources are also available: not only are there numerous decrees dating from the early Hellenistic period that refer explicitly to the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, but furthermore, archaeologists have discovered a fragmentary inscription that clearly relates to the monument by Critius and Nesiotes and that makes it possible to decipher the epigram carved on its base. Finally, we also possess numerous literary sources. Even if the historians and philosophers of the Classical period manifested no more than a limited interest in the statues of the Tyrannicides, the writers of comedy delighted in targeting the effigies of the two murderers;

meanwhile, the orators granted them a special place in their reflections on the evolution of civic honours. Even in the Roman period, authors both Greek and Roman continued to take an interest in the bronze sculptures of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which they regarded as among the symbols of the glorious past of Greece.

The Question of Origins

This abundance of documentation has prompted a steady flow of studies ever since. In 1859, for instance, Karl Friederichs identified two famous marble statues exhibited in Naples as Roman copies of the Tyrannicides produced by Critius and Nesiotes.[8] For a whole century, discussions focussed on the formal aspect of the statues, describing their respective poses. On this subject, the pioneering works of Gisela Richter and Ernst Buschor[9] were completed and superseded by the scholarly work done by the Swedish archaeologist Sture Brunnsåker as having the last word on the matter.[10] This summing-up, published in 1955 and republished in the early 1970s with a number of additions, aimed to set the group produced by Critius and Nesiotes within the purest tradition of the *Kopieforschung* (literally, 'copy research') invented by Johann Joachim Winckelmann and, in order to get as close as possible to the lost original, Brunnsåker also took into consideration not only the copies of the Roman period, but also the reproductions of the statues that were to be found on other materials.

Ever since, the bibliographical flow of works on the Tyrannicides has regularly increased. Amid this torrent of specialist studies, two monographs stand out by reason of the scope of their subject and the subtlety of their analyses. In a short volume first published in 1981,[11] Michael Taylor used the image of the tyrannicides as a means to penetrate the political imaginary of Athens,[12] carefully sifting the contrasting reactions that this pair of murderers prompted. The originality of this work stems from the place devoted to iconography—in particular, the representations of Theseus adopting the postures of Harmodius or Aristogiton, which the author analyses for their own intrinsic interest rather than as a mine of information designed to help reconstruct the original statues. Nevertheless, the book does remain limited to a study of the fifth century alone and does not always take into account the chronological and narrative differences between the sources used to support the author's thesis.

Three years later, the archaeologist Burkhardt Fehr devoted a brief monograph of his own (rapidly translated into French) to the Critius and Nesiotes pair.[13] Elaborating on the basic work by Sture Brunnsåker, this study shows how, by playing on the positioning of the statues, the sculptors managed to produce an image of the fundamental ideals of Athenian democracy: namely, self-discipline, equality, and solidarity.[14] Over and above this stylistic and semantic analysis, Fehr furthermore (and this is one of the strong points of his demonstration) stresses the fact that between the reforms of Cleisthenes and the end of the Peloponnesian War, the meaning of the monument changed. Unfortunately, his enquiry breaks off abruptly at the end of the fifth century, resuming only in the mid-twentieth century at the point when the Nazi and Soviet totalitarian regimes were manipulating the iconography of the Tyrannicides for propagandist purposes.[15]

All these works, in the manner of a magnifying glass, reflect the two dominant features of the historiography of the Tyrannicides: firstly, the obsession with the originals—even today many works remain clouded by purely formal matters, such as the pose of Harmodius[16] or the hypothetical aspect of the group sculpted by Antenor[17]; secondly, a quest for origins. Most of this research remains focussed on the early times of the statues and ignores the rest of their history.

A Biographical Approach to the Tyrannicides

In contrast to earlier studies, the present enquiry aims for a long-term view. It undertakes to trace the Tyrannicide statues through several centuries, from their creation at the dawn of the Classical period down to their disappearance at the end of the Roman period. The fact that I talk of the birth, life, and death of the statues does not stem from a simple matter of style but is prompted by a reasoned decision that constitutes my second methodological gamble. For it seems to me that the effigies of Harmodius and Aristogiton gain from being regarded as like living organisms that pass through various states and, in the course of their lives, experience certain more and certain less active phases. In short, I hope to achieve a veritable biography of the effigies of Harmodius and Aristogiton.[18] Ever since Louis Gernet, we have been aware that, in the Greek world, objects could possess a prestigious 'certificate of origins'[19] acquired through a series of trans-generational exchanges[20]; and in the course of the past thirty years, anthropologists have revealed how very interesting it is to engage in a wider study of 'the social life of things',[21] following their trajectory step by step in order to reconstitute their itineraries and study their careers.[22] In the case of the Tyrannicides, such a biographical approach seems to me to possess a double advantage, for it enables us both to rethink the relationships between images and politics in ancient Greece and to elude the static categories of the history of ancient art.

A MONUMENTAL HISTORY OF POLITICS

By treating the statues of the Tyrannicides as real persons, one comes to regard them as monuments, in the sense already established by Michel Foucault.[23]

According to the author of *La Volonté de savoir*, a monument does not simply illustrate events, but itself marks an epoch: it is an active symbol, a historical fact in its own right which, far from illustrating some reality that is independent of it, actually 'creates' and makes history.[24] The fact is that, even if, unlike Pygmalion's Galatea, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton did not move, they nevertheless affected the world, organising rituals, creating social relations, and even exerting a measure of power.[25] The power and agency possessed by statues: that is a biographical hypothesis that prompts reflection on the interactions of monuments and politics.

Let us set up a few markers in the establishment of those powerful interactions. At the start of the fifth century, the statues constituted one of the spearheads in a campaign of memorialisation launched against the Pisistratids, and then, following the Second Persian War, they became the very incarnation of the struggle against the Persians. In the years that followed, the Tyrannicides came to be symbolic figures in the internal struggles between democrats and the oligarchs, inspiring one group and provoking the hostility of the other. Following the oligarchic revolutions of the late fifth century, the statuary group in its own small way played its part in the reestablishment of a democratic consensus in an Athens that had been torn apart by discord (*stasis*). Then the life of the statues took a more peaceful turn: in the fourth century, the monument became a key element in the dialogue that took place between benefactors and the city, within the framework of the radical evolution of a system of honours. Following the death of Alexander, the Tyrannicides played their part in the establishment of a consensus between the new masters of the Mediterranean—initially the Hellenistic kings, then the representatives of Rome—whom the Athenians sought thereby to placate. Even in the high Roman imperial period, the effigies of Harmodius and Aristogiton still preserved a political force. In the eyes of the city's élite members, the statue group remained a means of visually articulating the memory of Greek liberty and the reality of Roman domination.

But let us be clear about this: in thus tracing the trajectory of the Tyrannicides, it is not simply a matter of casting a cavalier look at the political history of Athens from some external angle. Let me repeat the point: the statues should not be considered simply to reflect politics that were being pursued elsewhere, in the Assembly, the council, or the law courts. The two statuary groups contributed actively to the construction of the political culture of Athens, by participating in the creation of a system of shared values surrounding the defence of the country and the necessary sacrifices to be made to secure its freedom.

Once this is realised, it becomes possible to rise above the debate initiated, in her day, by Nicole Loraux.[26] Adopting a deliberately polemical tone, she reproached anthropologist-historians of the Greek world for painting a picture of a city too irenic to be true, one from which all conflict could be evicted;

unless, that is, it was seen as a kind of inversion or a momentary lapse into savagery.[27] She targeted in particular the 'flat society' evoked by studies of painters and image-makers, for, according to her, iconographic studies had managed to promote a vision of a 'ritualistic' Athens, set apart from a time of battles and assemblies; and this 'city of images' thereby radically evacuated conflict despite the fact that this was such a 'constitutive element in the Greek definition of politics'[28].

The case of the Tyrannicides gives me a chance to respond at least partially to Loraux's objection, at the same time somewhat shifting the debate. In the first place, given that the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton celebrated the memory of a bloody uprising, it seems, at the very least, hard to regard them as a side-lining of conflict. A study of the images thus does not necessarily lead us to lose sight of the clashes that, in Greece as elsewhere, structured politics. But that is not all: the monument of the Tyrannicides also serves greatly to attenuate Nicole Loraux's fundamental thesis, according to which the Athenians repressed conflict just as a psychiatric patient represses his own traumas. For, far from repressing *stasis*, the Athenians had contrived to provide it with a choice setting, right in the middle of the Agora, where it could be seen and recognised by one and all.[29] Besides, was it simply by chance that the group of statues became the cynosure of particular attention following the oligarchic revolutions of the late fifth century?[30] The fact was that, in the Athenian imaginary, there was a red—indeed blood-red—thread that linked the murder of Hipparchus with the bloody struggles that arose at the end of the Peloponnesian War: the Tyrannicides carried a seditious charge in a community where conflicts were not always repressed but instead tended to be flagrantly displayed as an integral dimension of the democratic political experience.

STATUARY ABOVE AND BEYOND TRADITIONAL TYPOLOGIES

This biographical approach is also worthwhile because it reveals the way that statuary, in itself, functions. If, step by step, one traces the trajectory of the two statuary groups, it becomes impossible to regard them as inanimate blocks of bronze, the meaning of which is established, once and for all right from the start,[31] for the meaning of the Tyrannicides evolved at a number of points in the course of their several-centuries-long life. These successive 'semantic changes' (to adapt a term much favoured by linguists) prompt further elaboration of the history of statuary, which is often confined to watertight categories that, still today, are set out in a more or less fixed order: 'religious statues and cultic reliefs; offerings; decorative sculpture; funerary sculpture; commemorative sculpture, honorific statuary and the rise of the portrait.[32]' The statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, on the contrary, resist all forms of categorisation by reason of their fundamental indeterminacy. On one hand, they lack any striking visual particularities: far from being unique, the pose of Harmodius—which did so much for the renown of the monument sculpted by Critius and Nesiotes—was freely inspired by representations of Apollo engaged in clashes between the gods and the giants, thereby testifying to the circulation of iconographic motifs between images of the gods and human statuary[33]; furthermore, as we shall see, it is not possible to assign a single function to the statues of the Tyrannicides, whether that function be votive, religious, funerary, or honorific. In fact, this fundamental uncertainty may well explain the widely divergent interpretations ascribed to them over the years. This case-study thus prompts one to introduce a measure of disorder into the kind of art history that is all too inclined to transform a luxuriant jungle into a French-style garden divided up by dead-straight paths.

It would be a mistake to regard this instance as no more than a simple exception that, however fascinating, is nevertheless insignificant. For what is true of the effigies of Harmodius and Aristogiton also applies, to a lesser degree, to ancient statuary in general. Recent research has questioned the sacrosanct distinction between 'cultic statues' and 'votive statues', stressing the porosity between those two categories.[34] Not only were the two sometimes designated by the same term,[35] but there was no stylistic criterion to differentiate between them at first sight.[36] In fact, in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, divine images were sometimes recycled as honorific statues, given that there were no visual or textual indications that would serve to distinguish them.[37] Above all, statues were not always limited to one unique and well-determined function, as is shown by the famous *kouroi* and *korai* which, depending on the context, might possess a funerary role, a votive dimension, or even a religious character.[38] It sometimes even happened that the function of statues changed in the course of their existence, as in the case of the statue of Athena Hygieia, on the Acropolis: it began life, in the time of Pericles, as an offering, but was later associated with a pre-existing ritual that conferred a religious significance upon it.[39]

It was, without doubt, the context rather than their supposed intrinsic characteristics that decided the meaning and function of statues in the various stages of their lives.[40] The 'context': we should also be wary about this magical word that is so beloved by historians, the sole mention of which can serve instead of an explanation. On one hand, far from constituting a static background against which statues can stand out, a context should be regarded as dynamic and constantly changing, in perpetual interaction with the monument that it helps to define; on the other, the notion cannot be reduced to a few vague chronological or topographical elements, for it refers to a rich configuration that only a 'thick description' is able to convey by revealing a plurality of 'layers of meaning'.[41]

In the case of the Tyrannicides, one must first take into account the positioning of the statues—not only their situation on the Agora, but also their place in relation to the monuments that surrounded them; their place not only on the ground, but also in three-dimensional space.[42] One must also consider the ritual operations, such as sacrifices, prayers, singing, and crowning ceremonies that, at regular intervals, animated the aura of the statuary group. Furthermore, one should take into account the narrative traditions that played a part in defining the meaning of the effigies of Harmodius and Aristogiton, thereby orienting the gaze of spectators and guiding their judgement.[43] Only then will it be possible to grasp the various transformations that took place in the course of their centuries-long lives.

The Tyrannicides Seen Through a Magnifying Glass: A Micro-History

In the process of scrutinising a unique monument in the greatest detail, however, one risks becoming somewhat myopic and losing sight of the overall scene. For how can one generalise on the basis of one particular singularity, however rich this may be? Even if the objection is strong, it may not be overwhelming, for an intensive analysis of an exceptional case may in fact cast more light upon a social phenomenon than what is presumed to be ‘a typical case’—which can only be a statistical fiction—or a bunch of examples that possess no more than a generalising value.[44] That, of course, is a fundamental hypothesis of micro-history, the heuristic fertility of which can no longer be in any doubt.

Besides, such a methodological choice in no way implies remaining with one’s sights riveted to one single statuary group and its immediate surroundings. In order to grasp the singularity of the Tyrannicides, it is, on the contrary, necessary to risk engaging in comparison and to try to pinpoint what assimilates them to and what distinguishes them from other types of statues. For a micro-historical approach does not exclude constructing a series, provided that the latter is based upon the particular case being studied and no attempt is made to fit the monument into a ready-made taxonomy. That, basically, sums up the difference between a *case* and an *example:* whereas an example serves to illustrate a general law or a pre-established classification, a case-history leads one to scrutinise established norms and categories, testing their relevance to the extreme limit.[45] By so doing, and having pursued various analyses, one is led to situate the statuary group at the intersection of several distinct series (cult statues, defamatory monuments, honorific effigies, or Roman copies of Greek statues), without ever attempting to connect it solely with any particular one of them.

Far from it being merely a matter of method and scale, a micro-historical approach is part and parcel of a particular way of writing history. This is founded upon what Carlo Ginzburg has called the ‘evidential paradigm’: the historian has to become a hunter or detective, on the track of clues that will allow him to descry an object that is constantly vanishing.[46] This type of enquiry, the model for which is archaeological study, is based upon a minute analysis of the traces of the past: both their construction and also their lacunae. For no clue, however clear, affords immediate access to the past, so the historian needs to recognise all that he or she owes to the internal logic of the resources consulted, whether these be textual or iconographic. The Tyrannicides thus appear in a radically different light depending on whether they are evoked within the theatre, in a ritual setting, are the subjects of philosophical or historical writings with a limited circulation, are represented on the city's public monuments, or even appear on the tableware designed to amuse the guests at an aristocratic banquet.

However, a historian also needs to pay heed to the silences that riddle documentation that is in many cases fragmentary or even contradictory. A microhistorical approach thus implies renouncing the figure of an omniscient narrator-historian and consequently recognising that hypotheses, doubts, and uncertainties all constitute an integral part of the writing of history. Such a lesson is particularly applicable to the case of the Tyrannicides, whose itinerary is marked by many enigmas and mysteries—as, for example, by the dating of Antenor's group, the positioning of the two statues sculpted by Critius and Nesiotes, or indeed the life of the monument in the second century B.C. For this reason, the present statuary biography will strive to pay as much attention to moments when allusions to the Tyrannicides become more discreet as to phases when documentation abounds; and it will aim to make sense of the former as well as the latter.

The first section of the enquiry, covering the entire fifth century, is devoted to the birth of the statues and to what might be termed their 'growing pains' at the time of the two oligarchic revolutions of 411 and 404. This early period derives its unity from the constant fear of a return to tyranny in the city, for the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton helped foster an obsessive complex among the Athenians—one that Aristophanes recorded vividly in 422, almost ninety years after the fall of Hippias (*Wasps*, 488–502): 'How you see tyranny and conspirators everywhere, as soon as anyone voices a criticism large or small! I hadn't even heard of the word being used for at least fifty years, but nowadays it's cheaper than sardines. Look how it's bandied about in the marketplace.' The collapse of the tyranny of the Thirty, in 403, brought to a close that turbulent period, which I propose to re-examine from the standpoint of outrage. The fact is that the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which exalted a political murder, were accorded a very ambivalent reception in the fifth century, being venerated by some and mocked by others. Far from acquiring a linear trajectory, the group was subjected to several testing moments, which, paradoxically enough, served to increase its impact and helped to turn it into 'a talismanic icon for the Athenian democracy'.[47]

Following the reestablishment of democracy in 403, the group sculpted by Critius and Nesiotes entered a new phase of its life, one that was certainly less turbulent. This forms the second part of our enquiry: it was to some extent an Age of Reason. In the course of the fourth century, the Tyrannicides came to be considered as the archetype of the honorific statuary that was gradually becoming increasingly formalised. This honorific aspect then came to form a kind of second skin to the monument, thereby helping to normalise it in the eyes of both the Athenians and other Greeks, too. If the statues at this point lost some degree of their originality—a process further accentuated by the return of Antenor's group to Athens, probably at the end of the fourth century—they nevertheless preserved a strong power of legitimation: in the Hellenistic period, the group remained a point of reference on whose basis the city graded the honours that it dispensed. It was during this same period that the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton became an integral part of the Mediterranean cultural heritage and the object of epigrams far beyond Athens and, soon enough, of marble copies destined to ornament the *atria* of Roman notables. It would, however, be mistaken to regard this simply as a programmed waning of a monument that was becoming increasingly commonplace, as if time were little by little erasing its most vivid harshness so as to make it appear increasingly unabrasive and acceptable. The political impact of the group was never completely neutralized, and, even during the high Roman imperial period, the Tyrannicides were still provoking debate and even criticism.

PART I }

Births and Growing Pains

THE TYRANNICIDES BETWEEN GLORY AND OUTRAGE

It is the nature of the beautiful to remain, as they say, insensitive to outrage.[1]

The origins of the Tyrannicides have been the subject of so many studies that it may seem ridiculous to wish to add yet another bibliographical layer to the thick sedimentary deposit of scholarly works beneath which the statuary group is already buried. From what angle can one approach a monument already so frequently scrutinized? How to bring a fresh eye to bear on statues that have become veritable icons of the Athenian democracy? Perhaps by reinterpreting the entire sequence, not only within the prism of that glory, but also in the light of the reaction of outrage that was expressed in both words and actions and is understood here in its minimal sense of an affront to honour and respect. The fact is that, throughout the fifth century, the history of the Tyrannicides oscillated between those two poles: the function of the statues was at once to glorify the murderers of Hipparchus and to demean the memory of the Pisistratids. As for their reception, meanwhile, the effigies of Harmodius and Aristogiton were sometimes venerated, sometimes ridiculed, sometimes even maltreated.

The suggestion that the part played by outrage in the history of the monument should be fully recognised is a disconcerting one, for it clashes directly with the covert assumptions of the history of art in that it involves seizing upon an element of debasement and degradation where, ever since Winckelmann and right down to Lacan, what has traditionally been emphasised is perfection and harmony. Let me recapitulate: in the mid–eighteenth century, following a series of dismissive reactions to Greek statuary, the founder of the history of art represented it as the very ideal of beauty. In his view, where human art was concerned, Antiquity outshone all other periods; and within Antiquity in general, Greece, he claimed, surpassed all other 'nations'; within Greek art, it was sculpture that set the tone; and, furthermore, within the domain of sculpture, the creations of the Classical period constituted the unsurpassable peak of excellence.[2] Therefore, to reconsider the Tyrannicides from the point of view of the outrage with which they were greeted would thus imply rejecting that enchanted view of classical Greek statuary. And to what end? Such a programme would be of no more than extremely limited interest if its sole purpose were iconoclastic. Yet it does seem to me a fertile ploy in that it makes it possible, somewhat late in the day, to consider the way in which the aura of an ancient Greek sculpture came to be constructed.

Provided they are not totally destroyed, images may, paradoxically enough, benefit from the abuse that they suffer. The statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton were deported to Persia by Xerxes, ridiculed by the comic poets, derided in the images displayed on certain banqueting vessels, and, possibly, humiliated by the oligarchs at the end of the Peloponnesian War. They thus owed part of their prestige to the verbal, iconographic, and physical outrage that they suffered in the course of the fifth century, for at several crucial moments, insults stimulated the growth of the monument in that they set off a kind of immunising defensive reaction. That, at least, is the hypothesis that I should like to test in this first section of the present enquiry.

1 }

First Scene

THE MURDER OF HIPPARCHUS

By the second century A.D., the story of the Tyrannicides was so well known that Pausanias (1.8.5) reckoned that he could pass over it in silence when he considered the two statuary groups side by side in the Agora of Athens: ‘Nearby stand statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who killed Hipparchus. The reason of this act and the method of its execution have been related by others; of the statues, some were made by Critius, the old ones being the work of Antenor.’ The assassination had indeed been recounted several times. Herodotus refers briefly to it (5.55–57) but the murder had above all been the subject of a long digression by Thucydides (6.53.3–59.2) in the *Peloponnesian War*. In the fourth century, the episode had also attracted the attention of Platonic (Pseudo-Plato, *Hipparchus*, 228B–229D) and Aristotelian (Pseudo-Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 17.3–19.1) philosophical circles, and these proposed a remarkable reinterpretation of it that ran counter to popular Athenian beliefs.[3] Even if they were prone to differ among themselves on points of detail,[4] historians and philosophers alike distrusted ‘the account of people of democratic sympathies,’[5] which they reckoned to be grossly misleading.

What was the basis for the disagreement between Athenian popular beliefs concerning the death of Hipparchus[6] and the version of the supposedly enlightened ‘intellectuals’? That is something that needs to be clarified at the outset so that we avoid reasoning based on false premises.

Eros and *Thanatos*: A Debatable Murder

According to some scholars,[7] the essential disagreement relates to the true reasons for the murder of Hipparchus and, in particular, to the role played by an affront that prompted Harmodius and Aristogiton to move into action. Countering the general opinion held by Athenians, Thucydides (6.59.1) declared the assassination to have been motivated by resentment relating to a love affair (*di' erōtikēn lupēn*) rather than by any noble political aim. And it is quite true that the Athenian historian was happy to draw attention to the private motives of the tyrannicides' action, because he believed that the murder was prompted by a banal episode of erotic rivalry (6.54.2–3):

> And Harmodius, being then in the flower of youthful beauty [*hōrai hēlikias*], had as his lover [*erastēs*] Aristogiton, a citizen of the middle class. An attempt to seduce him having been made by Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, without success, Harmodius denounced him to Aristogiton. And he, as his lover [*erōtikōs*], deeply resented it, and fearing the power of Hipparchus, lest he might take Harmodius by force [*biai*], at once plotted, with such influence as he possessed, to overthrow the tyranny [*tēi turannidi*].

Even if the decision to act against the Pisistratids does seem to have been spontaneous, there was, according to Thucydides, another element that caused the two lovers to move into action. Apparently Hipparchus had publicly humiliated Harmodius' sister in revenge for having been rejected by him (6.56.1–2):

> So then, when Harmodius had repulsed his suit, Hipparchus insulted him [*proupēlakisen*], as he intended. For, after summoning a maiden-sister of his to serve as a basket-bearer in some procession [*en pompēi*], they rejected her, declaring they had never summoned her at all, because she was unworthy. As Harmodius was indignant at this, Aristogiton for his sake was far more exasperated.[8]

The attack would thus appear to have been prompted by a humiliating private affair that became publicly exposed. Was the historian rejecting tradition and the Athenian civic memory when he, in this way, stressed the crucial role that *erōs* played in the murder of Hipparchus? A number of commentators claim that there were two, conflicting and concurrent, accounts of the same incident. According to the first, which was democratic and the more widely believed, the tyrannicides were disinterested actors moved solely by a desire to overcome tyranny. The second version, less widely accepted and defended mainly by iconoclastic historians and philosophers, on the contrary emphasised the more or less sordid personal motives of Harmodius and Aristogiton.[9]

However, that interpretation is eminently disputable and to put it bluntly, altogether mistaken. For, as to the motives for the attack, Thucydides and the Pseudo-Aristotle did not question the democratic tradition: in the first place because, in Athens, it was widely known that the tyrannicides had been lovers. In the mid–fourth century, the orator Aeschines, a spokesman for civic values, referred before the Athenian courts to 'the chaste and lawful love' by which Harmodius and Aristogiton were linked (*Against Timarchus,* 1.140).[10] So *erōs* was clearly widely recognised to have played its part in the official version of the story—a version that it was perfectly proper to refer to in the courts. For there was in Athens no reason to set private and public motives in opposition. In a society founded upon honour, a personal insult demanded a response, even a bloody one. Furthermore, in the democratic city, one needed to claim to have been personally harmed when engaging in public legal prosecutions: the defence of one's private interests and a desire for the common good were by no means exclusive—rather, they were mutually sustaining.[11]

So a modern, analytical grid founded upon a rigid separation between the public and the private spheres should not be applied to this episode, particularly since tyranny was itself defined precisely as a form of political authority that was expressed by the personal affronts that it inflicted upon other citizens—thereby manifesting its illegitimacy.[12]

Between Thucydides' account and the official version of the story there were, in truth, two major points of disagreement. The first concerned the nature of the power held by Hipparchus. According to Thucydides (6.54.2), Hipparchus did not wield tyrannical power: 'for when Pisistratus died as an old man, in possession of the tyranny, it was not Hipparchus, as most suppose, but Hippias, as eldest son, that succeeded to the sovereignty.' This matter seemed to Thucydides a sufficiently key point for him to return to it several times in the course of his digression on the tyrannicides; and his conclusion is definitive (6.55.4): 'Hipparchus, however, as it fell out, having become famous by his tragic fate, obtained in aftertime the credit also of having been the tyrant [*tēn doxan tēs turannidos*].'[13]

The second point of disagreement concerned, not the motives for the attack, but its consequences: did the murder lead to the liberation of the city, as popular belief held, or to an intensification of tyranny?[14] On this matter, the historian's critique was altogether explicit: acting in their haste with 'unconsidered boldness' (*alogistos tolma*'; 6.59.1), Harmodius and Aristogiton missed their chance of killing the true tyrant of Athens; namely, Hippias.[15] The latter, exasperated by the murder of his brother, responded by intensifying his tyranny, unleashing repression on an unprecedented scale, as is also noted by Herodotus.[16]

The controversy thus turned upon the status of Hipparchus—was he a mere citizen or a tyrant? and also upon the real consequences of the event—the liberation of Athens or an intensification of tyranny? rather than upon the actual causes and consequence of the murder, which, apart from a few tiny details, were hardly discussed at all. The Athenians no doubt regarded the actual unfolding of the episode in a manner quite close to that of the accounts provided by Thucydides or the author of *The Constitution of the Athenians*.

The Ambiguities of a Murder: Pollution or Veneration?

Within this whole sequence, a number of striking elements are worth picking out, for, once put together, they set the subsequent destiny of Tyrannicides in perspective. In the first place, we should draw attention to the ritual framework of the assassination, which took place during the procession (*pompē*) of the Great Panathenaea,[17] the greatest Athenian festival, which was largely reorganised by Pisistratus. As a consequence of the murder, the festival was diverted from its original form and thereafter took on a strong anti-tyrannical coloration. That is certainly why, subsequently, the tyrannicides themselves played a major role in the ceremony: not only were songs sung in their honour,[18] but the solemn Panathenaic procession passed just in front of the statuary group where, prior to the construction of the stadium in the fourth century, a number of athletic competitions took place right next to the statues.[19] So it was certainly not simply by chance that, at the end of the fifth century, effigies of the Tyrannicides appeared on the panathenaic amphoras presented to the winners of the prestigious competitions.[20]

This whole episode was thus organised around a murder committed during the time of a festival and in the vicinity of a sanctuary, the Leocoreion.[21] It is hard to imagine a more transgressive action, for blood had been shed at a moment and in a place where, in principle, peace, harmony, and concord should have prevailed. Worse still, the moment chosen for the action—the Panathenaic *pompē*—served to assimilate Hipparchus to the beasts that would be sacrificed at the end of the procession. And yet, as Robert Parker points out, in the ancient sources, the murder was never explicitly identified as a defilement (*agos*); it was as if the justice of the cause had overridden religious scruples.[22] All the same, we may well be surprised at this: it was not at all self-evident that a crime committed at the height of a religious festival would not involve any pollution (*miasma*), for in general the Athenians had no truck with any murder committed within a sacred precinct. For instance, in this very same period, the powerful Alcmaeonid family was still being regularly condemned for having shed the blood of Cylon's supporters at an altar on the Acropolis, over a century previously.

Let me briefly recapitulate that famous episode. In the 630s B.C., a certain Cylon, a victor in the Olympic Games and intoxicated by his victory, attempted, with the aid of his father-in-law, the tyrant of Megara, to seize power in Athens. The attack failed lamentably: besieged by the Athenians, the conspirators took refuge as suppliants on the Acropolis, close to the statue (*agalma*) of Athena.[23] Having been assured that they would be spared, the Cylonids agreed to leave the sanctuary. But they were nevertheless massacred at the instigation of the Alcmaeonid Megacles, who thereby contracted a pollution that would be transmitted to all his descendants. Two whole centuries after these events, the Spartans were still able to demand that the Athenians expel that 'defilement' (*agos*), which was embodied by the Alcmaeonid Pericles (Thucydides, 1.127.1).[24]

How was it that the murder committed by Harmodius and Aristogiton did not arouse the same indignation? After all, the cause of the Alcmaeonids was no less just than that of the tyrannicides. In both cases, it was a matter of striking down an individual who was potentially or actually a tyrant. So why consider the earlier crime as a most grave instance of sacrilege, but the second as an action worthy of the highest praise? To explain this apparent contradiction, perhaps we should begin by toning it down so as not to set the two episodes in such radical opposition. In short, it seems unlikely that the Athenians regarded the crime of the Alcmaeonids purely as an unmitigated pollution, or judged the murder perpetrated by the tyrannicides to be a fully justified assassination.

In the first place, the curse stemming from the Cylon episode needs to be set in perspective. Even if the Alcmaeonids' enemies sometimes delighted in reactivating its memory,[25] that never stopped Megacles' descendants from occupying the topmost positions in the city: not only did the Athenians not exile Pericles in 431, but the Alcmaeonids continued, throughout the fifth century, to make fine marriages within the civic élite, without being the slightest bit embarrassed by that defilement. In fact, one could even reverse that point and consider that, in democratic Athens, the memory of that sacrilege may well have contributed to the family's popularity: however transgressive it may have been, the massacre of the Cylonians in effect made it possible for the Alcmaeonids to present themselves as intransigent defenders of the people (*dēmos*), ready to risk even impiety in order to thwart the progress of tyranny. In fact, one sign of the times was that, at the end of the fifth century, the Athenians solemnly swore to consider any assassin of a man aspiring to tyranny as 'pure in the sight of gods and divinities' (*hosion [. . .] pros theōn kai daimonōn*) because he has killed 'an enemy of the Athenians' (*polemion tōn Athēnaiōn*) (Andocides, *On the Mysteries* 1.97).[26] Was this not a way, *a posteriori*, of absolving Megacles from his crime? At the very least, it was a way of legitimising the murder perpetrated by Harmodius and Aristogiton, for the memory of the two murderers of Hipparchus was explicitly invoked in the latter part of the oath of Demophantus that was sworn by all Athenians in 409 B.C.[27].

Furthermore, if the curse affecting the Alcmaeonids deserves to be questioned or even qualified, so, too, does the purity of the tyrannicides' action. In truth, it had taken a strenuous effort to convert the crime of Harmodius and Aristogiton, in the Athenian civic memory, 'into the origins [*archē*] of a new time, that of equality of law [*isonomia*]',[28] and this had by no means won universal approval. We should remember that the dissenting voices of Thucydides and Pseudo-Plato attest to the existence of an alternative tradition, which claimed that, at the time of his assassination, Hipparchus did not wield tyrannical power.[29] Was this just an irrelevant detail? By no means, for by killing a mere citizen, not a tyrant, Harmodius and Aristogiton were reduced to the level of common murderers. It is surely not simply by chance that Thucydides stresses the piety of the Pisistratids, choosing to underline the fact that, throughout their reign, they 'provided sacrifices for the sanctuaries' (6.54.5), built temples, and dedicated numerous altars to the city's gods.[30] An attentive reading of the historian's account suggests that the tyrannicides murdered an ordinary individual who belonged to a pious family and that they furthermore did so during a religious festival: *horresco referens*![31]

There can, nevertheless, be no question of equating the two episodes. For there was a difference in scale between the Alcmaeonids and the tyrannicides: the former had been judged and condemned to exile following a public trial,[32] whereas the latter swiftly became revered in the city and were attacked only in minority circles.[33] The difference surely lies in the fact that Harmodius and Aristogiton both perished in their attack, unlike Megacles who, at the time of the massacre of the Cylonids, was exposed to no risk at all. The almost instantaneous death of the tyrannicides no doubt promoted the conversion of their potentially sacrilegious crime into an action worthy of veneration. From this point of view, their posthumous destiny resembles that of a number of mythical heroes (Orestes and Oedipus, for instance) who, though polluted in their lifetimes, became a source of blessings after their deaths.[34]

These differences notwithstanding, the comparison seems to me valid because it draws attention to various forms of communication between holiness and sacrilege, purity and pollution, *hagios* and *agos*.[35] The destiny of the statuary group preserves traces of this fundamental ambiguity: this primitive scene—a crime committed in a sacred place, in the course of a religious festival—accounts for both the ritual acts of devotion and the attempted humiliation that the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton attracted in the course of their life, as if the murder had indeed left behind an indelible stain.

A Spiral of Revenge: The Dynamics of Outrage

As recounted by Thucydides, this episode calls for further comment. Upon reading the historian more attentively, one realises that the entire sequence rests upon a cycle of actions and reactions in which outrage occupies a decisive place. It all starts with an offence taken by Hipparchus, who is furious at having been thwarted by Harmodius (6.54.4): 'having in a second attempt met with no better success in persuading Harmodius, although he had no intention of offering violence, yet laid a plan to insult him [*propēlakiōn*] in some covert [*aphanei*] way, as though it were not for this reason.'[36] Pseudo-Aristotle (*Athenian Constitution*, 18.2) suggests a similar interpretation of the episode, although he differs from Thucydides in that he attributes the responsibility for the insult to Thettalus, Hipparchus' brother:

> Thettalus was much younger and bold and insolent in his mode of life, which proved to be the source of all their misfortunes. For he fell in love with Harmodius, and when his advances were continually unsuccessful he could not restrain his anger [*orgēn*], but displayed it bitterly in various ways, and finally when Harmodius' sister was going to be a Basket-carrier in the procession at the Panathenaic festival he prevented her by uttering some insult against Harmodius as being effeminate [*loidorēsas ti ton Harmodion hōs malakon onta*].

The insult seems to have taken both a verbal form (a *loidoria* addressed to Harmodius) and an active one (the ejection of Harmodius' sister from the procession of the *canephoroi* in the Panathenaea). It was this insult that then sparked the revenge taken by the two lovers. According to Thucydides (6.57.3), Harmodius, reacting as an affronted man (*ho de hubrismenos*), decided to avenge himself (*protimōrēsasthai*) for the insults that he had suffered. Nor did this spiral of revenge stop there, for it continued even after the deaths of the tyrannicides (Ps.-Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 19.1): 'After this it began to come about that the tyranny was much harsher; for Hippias's numerous executions and sentences of exile in revenge [*timōrein*] for his brother led to his being suspicious of everybody and embittered.'[37]

The entire episode was thus based on a form of negative reciprocity, in which an insult called for revenge, which then, in its turn, unleashed a new cycle of reprisals. In a way, the erection of the statuary group was part of the same vengeful sequence, in that the monument aimed, not only to celebrate the tyrannicides, but also to insult the memory of the tyrants. The chain of insults thus continued long after the deaths of the principal actors; in fact, throughout the history of the statues, which functioned in a tit-for-tat manner. But let us not get ahead of ourselves. For the moment, we should simply remember that the assassination represented but one moment in a series of insults that had originated well upstream (with the original insulting rejection of Hipparchus) and then continued far downstream (following the erection of the statuary group and all the consequences that ensued).

2}

Date of Birth Unknown

ANTENOR'S TYRANNICIDES

Between 510, which was when the tyrant Hippias was exiled, and 480, when the Pisistratids briefly returned to the city at the time of the Second Persian War,[1] Athens underwent a series of decisive political and institutional reforms. These consisted of the following: a territorial and administrative reorganisation at the instigation of Cleisthenes, the aim of which was to break up the traditional aristocratic patronage networks; the creation of a council composed of five hundred members selected by lot from the entire citizen population; the progressive marginalisation of the Archons, the great magistrates of Archaic Athens, who were recruited according to census qualifications and, once they had retired, made up the Areopagus,—to the profit of the board of ten Generals (*stratēgoi*), which was created in 501/500 and was elected by the *dēmos*; and the introduction of ostracism, which was designed to prevent any reversion to tyranny and was regularly called upon from 487 onward.

Summed up in this traditional manner, the history of Athens at the turn of the sixth century appears to be part of the irresistible advance of democracy, as if Pericles could already be glimpsed beneath Cleisthenes. But we should remember that this grand narrative is based on a slanted and teleological reading of incomplete sources: a few scraps by Herodotus, a bit of Thucydides, and the careful study of Pseudo-Aristotle's *Constitution of the Athenians*. What strikes one upon a careful examination of all the available documentation is how very little we know about Athenian political life before 480: in fact, the number of modern conjectures and hypotheses is inversely proportional to the quality of the ancient sources!

It was during that little-known period that the Athenians set up an initial statuary group in honour of Harmodius and Aristogiton. But unfortunately there is scarcely a trace of the event in the available documentation, for there is no allusion at all to those statues in the Greek literature of the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Not until the first century A.D. is the first group at last mentioned, by the Roman authors Valerius Maximus and Pliny the Elder[2]; and it is not until the following century that Pausanias (1.8.5) alludes to the name of the sculptor, Antenor, in a short aside, without which we should have remained altogether in ignorance. Furthermore, on the rare occasions when the statues are mentioned, it is not so much because of their intrinsic interest, but rather by reason of their later fate: their capture by the Persians in 480, and their restitution by Alexander or one of the Seleucid kings at the end of the fourth century or the early third century B.C.[3] This manifest lack of interest explains how it is that we know nothing of the form taken by this bronze monument,[4] nor of the identity of those responsible for its erection, nor even the date when it was erected—unless, that is, we accept at face value the late information provided by Pliny.[5] In this respect, this would seem to be a case where a statuary group has a 'date of birth unknown'.

Nevertheless, we need to penetrate the mystery—or at least try to—for Antenor's statues mark a crucial innovation in the history of Athens, since this was the first time that mortal men were represented by statues erected on the Agora. It was a distinction that for a long time remained unique in a democracy that took particular care to control the public expression of any political or social superiority of members of the élite.[6] Now, having noted the exceptional nature of this monument, we need to venture onto a historiographically well-mined terrain and try to discern the precise moment when Antenor's statues were erected in the city; for, as we shall see, this chronological question, which may *a priori* seem pointless, in fact affects our very concept of the history of Athens at the end of the Archaic period.

While the birth of the statuary group is a subject of bitter controversy, there is, on the other hand, one point on which there is general agreement: Antenor's statues were carried off by the Persians when they took Athens in 480. However, that does not resolve the question of why King Xerxes seized them, nor, in particular, why the Athenians felt the need to replace them almost immediately by a new statuary group that very quickly acquired an altogether exceptional degree of prestige in the city.

An Unclassifiable Monument

When they were first installed in Athens, possibly on the Agora, the effigies of Harmodius and Aristogiton fitted into none of the traditional categories of Greek statuary.[7] In order to assess their specificity, perhaps we should begin by sketching in the statuary scene amid which the Athenians of the end of sixth century were evolving. Masculine statues, upright and in the round, were at that point concentrated in two strategic places: the Ceramicus and the Acropolis. In the Ceramicus public cemetery, citizens could admire the numerous marble funerary *kouroi* that stood as distinctive signs (*sēmata*) on the tombs of the Athenian élites.[8] On the Acropolis, the visitor entered a veritable forest of monumental offerings, among which were many statues that represented the dedicator himself. One such was the famous 'Moscophorus' (the calf-bearer) rediscovered to the southeast of the Acropolis,[9] another the 'Rampin horseman', probably consecrated by a victor in some panhellenic competition.[10]

In this scene distinctly polarised between, on one hand, the Ceramicus, and, on the other, the Acropolis, the Agora appeared to be a kind of 'no man's land' pretty well devoid of any monuments or ornaments. It was in this desert that the group sculpted by Antenor was probably installed.[11] Standing there, isolated in this open space, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton did not belong to any recognised category. Although they represented men who were dead, they did not act as funerary markers, since they were separated from the tombs of the two tyrannicides, which were located in the Ceramicus. Furthermore, although they may have been positioned quite close to a sanctuary—the Leocoreion—they did not operate as offerings consecrated to some deity. Nor, although they may well have been the focus of a number of rituals, was there any religious dimension to them, *stricto sensu*, since funerary sacrifices in honour of the tyrannicides no doubt took place on their tombs.[12] Likewise, they were not analogous to the cultic monuments (called *hērōon*) that some colonies erected in honour of their founder, after his death, for although that type of edifice might well be found on the city's Agora, it would contain the tomb of the *oikistēs*, not his statue.[13] Finally, the sculpted group could not, strictly speaking, be classified as an honorific monument: even if it was designed to celebrate the two martyrs, it was probably not the product of any official decree voted on by the Assembly, in accordance with a custom that was not truly established until the fourth century.[14]

Thus the Tyrannicides group constituted none of the following: neither a funerary monument nor religious statues, nor votive consecrations in honour of a deity, nor honorific effigies. So it belonged to no well-defined genre and oscillated between a number of different registers, thereby plunging interpreters both ancient and modern into considerable confusion. Faced with this perplexing monument, Pliny the Elder (*Natural History*, 34.9.17) suggested a somewhat unconvincing parallel with the statues of Olympic victors (which are, in fact, equally difficult to classify).[15] Still today, historians of art find it extremely difficult to characterise the group, as can be seen from their use of a wavering and imprecise vocabulary such as 'honorific and heroic statues'[16] or 'commemorative statues'.[17] Their semantic unease is palpable, leading them to suggest categories that have no equivalent either in Greek vocabulary or in native categories of ancient statuary.

It is no doubt a mistake to try to force the monument into some known—and therefore reassuring—category. Indeed, one might go further: was it not precisely the unclassifiable character of this statuary group that was one of the reasons for its success? It was because it was unique, borrowing from a variety of statuary registers yet being imprisoned by none, that it made such an impact and was able, for centuries, to be adapted to the expectations of the Athenians. It was the context—itself fluctuating—that shaped the meaning of the monument, emphasising now its funerary implications, now its religious aspect, now its honorific meaning.

Chronological Questions: A Controversial Date of Birth

At what point and for what reasons did the Athenians create this unprecedented monument? To raise that question is to step straight into a pitched battle that has, for decades, opposed two irreconcilable camps. Were Antenor's Tyrannicides erected immediately after the expulsion of the tyrant Hippias, as early as 510/509, or at the time of Cleisthenes's reforms, around 508/507?[18] Alternatively, were the statues not sculpted until two decades later, after Marathon, in the 480s?[19] What is at stake here is the very meaning of the monument, and, furthermore, the way that the history of Athens at the turn of the century should be understood. Was the monument installed 'in the heat of the moment', at the point when the city, having only just been liberated by the Spartans, found itself plunged into deep *stasis*? Alternatively, was it the product of a decision taken 'coolly' thirty or so years after the murder of Hipparchus, at the point when the Athenians had just clashed with the Persians and feared a return to tyranny?

The partisans of an early dating emphasise a number of arguments of varying strength. In the first place, some claim, extremely hypothetically, that they can detect a reflection of the iconography of Antenor's group on painted pottery of the late sixth century. But their claim is a fragile one, for it is based on one sole example, the 'Skaramanga lecythus' by the Emporion Painter, the dating of which is itself uncertain.[20] Even if this vase undeniably does echo the iconography of the Tyrannicides—without suggesting anything like a carbon copy (fig. 12.3)[21]—it probably dates, not from the late sixth century, as Giorgio Becatti suggests,[22] but rather from 470–460 B.C. and so might well be inspired by the second group, which was set up in 477–476.[23]

Those who favour an early date also suggest another chronological argument in support of their thesis: given that Antenor is attested to have been active only between 514 and 500, would it not be logical for the tyrannicides' statues to have been sculpted during that period? However, that conclusion is by no means self-evident. Even if the only work by the sculptor to have been found; namely, Antenor's famous *korē*, can be dated to between 530 and 500 B.C.[24], there is no proof that he was not still active at the start of the 480s. More generally, though, the argument of this school of thought rests upon an outdated concept of the history of art that presupposes there to have been a deliberate or even exclusive affinity between Antenor and Cleisthenes, and that, in the relationship between the sculptor and the legislator, Antenor had 'the same role as Calamis played toward Cimon or Phidias played toward Pericles'.[25] However, that is a misleading parallel. Even if Antenor may well have worked for the Alcmaeonids in Delphi, sculpting the pediment of the temple of Apollo, there is nothing to prove that he worked solely for them.[26] Besides, we should remember that, in an adjacent field of religious art, the poet Simonides was brought to Athens by Hipparchus and was then entrusted, in 477/476, with the composition of the epigram that was then engraved upon the base of the Tyrannicides, the assassins of his previous employer[27]! So it would be a mistake to regard Antenor as a sculptor engaged exclusively in the service of the Alcmaeonids.

On the other hand, there are two more convincing arguments that favour an early dating. The first is a circumstantial one: it would seem that it was in the sixth century that the Agora was reorganised so as to make it the centre of Athenian political life; and the erection of the monument would fit harmoniously into the context of such a reorganisation.[28] The second argument is textual: in the first century a.d., Pliny the Elder dated the birth of the group to immediately after the collapse of the tyranny, by suggesting an implausibly exact synchronism with the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud from Rome (*Natural History*, 34.9.17):

> 'I do not know whether the first public statues were not erected by the Athenians, and in honour of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who slew the tyrant; an event which took place in the same year in which the kings were expelled from Rome [i.e. 244th year of Rome = 2nd year of the 67th Ol. = 510/509 B.C.].'

However, Pliny's dating raises as many problems as it resolves, for it implies that the group was installed in the actual year of the fall of the Pisistratids, at the time when Athens was plunged deep in *stasis.*[29] That solution postulates that the partisans of Isagoras and those of Cleisthenes collaborated in order to promote a consensual version of the liberation of an Athens that could not be directly taken over by either party. They did so by crediting it to the action of two men who had died scarcely four years earlier. So this solution assumes the existence of forms of cooperation between Athenian factions for which there is no evidence elsewhere. Furthermore, this synchronism—between the expulsion of the Tarquins and the erection of the Tyrannicides—seems too good to be true and could well simply reflect Pliny's desire to establish significant synchronisms between the two Mediterranean areas. Taken on its own, then, this quotation has no in-depth value.

There is one other text that is more circumstantial and that those who defend an early dating invoke to support their argument. Pausanias (1.8.5) declares: ‘Nearby stand statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who killed Hipparchus [. . .]; of the statues [*andriantōn*], some were made by Critius, the old ones [*tous archaious*] being the work of Antenor’.[30]

It is on the basis of their respective ancient dates that Pausanias distinguishes between the two groups, which, in his day, were to be found side by side in the Agora: Antenor’s Tyrannicides, returned to Athens following Alexander’s conquests, were *visibly* more ancient (*archaioi*) than the effigies produced by Critius and Nesiotes. So the obvious conclusion seems clear: if the monuments could, in this way, be distinguished from each other at a glance, it was because they had been sculpted at two moments in time sufficiently distant from one another for the difference between them to be manifest.[31] Given these circumstances, how could it be claimed that the first group had been erected barely ten years earlier than the second?

However beguiling that argument may be, it does not suffice to resolve the discussion, for it is impossible, solely on the basis of Pausanias’ text, to prove that Antenor’s statues were in a more ‘archaic’ style than those that replaced them: in both cases, these were effigies cast in bronze,[32] and the formal differences between the two groups were not necessarily striking. If the earlier group appeared to be older, that may simply have been because it had been scarred by its troubled history, having suffered not only the sack of 480 but also all the vicissitudes of the two-way journey between Athens and Susa, from which it was unlikely to have emerged unscathed.[33]

More generally, a number of objections may be raised against an early dating. The first (and weakest) rests upon an argument *e silentio*: Antenor’s group does not seem to have been particularly revered after its return to Athens at the end of the fourth century, for, even in the Roman period, no copy of the monument is definitely attested.[34] Such a lack of impact would be more understandable if it had only just been installed when the Persians carried it off.

The second objection, which is of a logical nature, concerns the manner in which the city’s collective memory functioned. It is unlikely that, immediately after the expulsion of the Pisistratids, the tyrannicides were already regarded as the true liberators of Athens, given that everyone knew that that was not the case.[35] Such a radical rewriting of history would be more likely when the memory of events had become somewhat blurred.

The last objection, which is of a historical nature, is by far the most serious: the exaltation of the murderers of Hipparchus does not fit in with what we know from other sources about Athenian political life at the end of the sixth century. In the first place, it is hard to see why Cleisthenes would have promoted a symbol that would tend to obscure his own role in the liberation of Athens,[36] short of presuming, without any proof, as Greg Anderson does, that the legislator himself promoted the image of the tyrannicides in order to obscure the radical novelty of his reforms.[37] It would surely have been more in the interest of the Alcmaeonids' adversaries to exalt Harmodius and Aristogiton, in order to diminish the prestige of the reformer. But were they in a position to do that so soon after Cleisthenes' triumph? That seems unlikely. Besides, the tyrants do not seem to have been the object of vindictiveness on the part of the Athenians in the course of the twenty years that followed Hippias' exile. What other explanation can there be for the fact that it was possible for a close relative of the Pisistratids, namely Hipparchus, the son of Charmus, to be elected as an archon in 496 B.C.[38]?

In truth, the erection of Antenor's group could just as well have occurred in the troubled context of the First Persian War. For not until that period did there crystallise among the Athenians an anxiety that until then had remained diffuse—namely, the fear of a return to tyranny. For Hippias was an active collaborator in the campaign against the Persians, acting as their guide all the way to Marathon.[39] Far from this choice for a landing site being a random one, it reflected his desire to seize back power, for Marathon was the very spot where his father, Pisistratus, had landed before establishing himself definitively at the head of the city (Herodotus, 1.62–63). It was only after the Athenians' unexpected victory that a hatred of tyranny became an article of faith in the civic ideology. So it was not simply by chance that the ostracism procedure was activated for the first time less than two years after 490. Nor was it by chance that, in 487 B.C., the first vote struck at a man with the same name as Hippias' assassinated brother, the former archon, Hipparchus, son of Charmus.[40]

It was at this very point that the Alcmaeonids also noted that their influence in the city was declining.[41] They were now accused of having collaborated with the enemy at Marathon, with the aim of facilitating Hippias' return to Athens (Herodotus, 6.115): 'There was an accusation rife at Athens that this plan arose from a device of the Alcmaeonidae who, it was said, made a compact with the Persians and held up a shield for them to see when they were now on shipboard.'[42] These rumours—claimed by Herodotus to be slanderous—no doubt explain why it was that Megacles, the son of Hippocrates and nephew of Cleisthenes, was in 486 the second figure in history to be ostracised and then, two years later, that Xanthippus, who was connected to the Alcmaeonids through his marriage to Cleisthenes' niece, was also exiled.[43] No doubt Cleisthenes' family was at this point no longer influential enough to oppose the exaltation of Harmodius and Aristogiton, those so-called liberators of the city.

That revived hatred of tyranny and the waning influence of the Alcmaeonids were two factors that, in the aftermath of Marathon, might well account for the installation of Antenor's monument that exalted the tyrannicides, thereby eclipsing Cleisthenes. Moreover, therein may lie one of the causes for that eclipse of the reformer in the Athenian democratic tradition. Symptomatically enough, it was precisely the authors who refused to regard Harmodius and Aristogiton as liberators who recorded the importance of Cleisthenes' reforms: as is well known, Herodotus' *Histories* and the Pseudo-Aristotle's *Athenian Constitution* are the only sources that convey some idea of the extent of the upheaval introduced by the Athenian legislator.

Horrific Statuary and *Damnatio Memoriae*: The Memory of the Insult

Following this game of chronological trajectories, it is not easy to decide in favour of one rather than the other, for both sides can put forward good arguments (textual and archaeological reasons on one side, historical ones on the other). But there can at the very least be agreement on one point: while Antenor's statues certainly did aim to celebrate the action of Harmodius and Aristogiton, whatever the exact moment of their erection, they were also designed to damage the memory of the tyrants. Seen from this point of view, the Tyrannicides gain from being included in a series of defamatory statues in the Greek world, a number of which we know about.[44] Although no well-established category for these exists, certain monuments had, over and above their overt function, the aim of commemorating an outrage, of fixing in stone or in metal the memory of some crime. For example, such was the case of the golden statues that Athenian archons convicted of corruption were required to consecrate in Delphi, and also of the bronze statues of Zeus (the Zanes) set up in the sanctuary of Olympia that were funded by a fine that athletes had to pay if they had offered or received bribes.[45] As Pausanias records (5.21.3–4), the function of such effigies was twofold: on one hand to condemn the cheater-athletes to execration, and, on the other, to glorify the god of the sanctuary. In the case of Antenor's Tyrannicides, such a defamatory accusation increased the significance of a decidedly unclassifiable monument and contributed to the values (of a funerary, honorific, or religious nature) that characterised it.

In this respect, the monument might fit into the vast *damnatio memoriae* movement that was set in motion after 510 and that gathered impetus in the wake of the First Persian War. Let me briefly recall the main elements in this memorial campaign waged against the Pisistratids. First, unsurprisingly, the Athenians, seeking to eliminate the traces of their building activity, without hesitation rearranged certain of the monuments that were too closely associated with them. As Thucydides notes (6.54.7), 'The people of Athens afterwards, in extending the length of the altar [of the twelve gods] in the Agora, effaced the inscription [of Pisistratus, son of Hippias].' All the same, the Athenians by no means meant to erase the past completely. On the contrary, they were at the same time careful to preserve the memory of the tyranny in complex ways that combined presence and absence, memory and oblivion, images and written documents.

On the Agora, representations of the tyrants were clearly prohibited. For instance, Antenor's group consisted solely of Harmodius and Aristogiton, omitting Hipparchus, as if the latter were not worthy of being represented even as a victim. However, paradoxically enough, that very omission attracted all the more attention to the absent figure, who, in truth, was doubly present: firstly in the form of a mental image that every onlooker conjured up in his mind in order to complete the scene of the assassination[46]; and secondly through his name, which must have been engraved on the base of the sculpture.[47] For in Athens, the detested memory of the tyranny was conveyed primarily in writing. For instance, we know, again thanks to Thucydides (6.55.1), that there was 'a stele commemorating the wrong-doing of the tyrants [*peri tēs tōn turannōn adikias*] that was set up on the Acropolis of Athens', upon which were engraved not only the names of Hippias and his children, but also those of Hipparchus and Thettalus.

The combination of the statues on the Agora and the stele of infamy on the Acropolis seems to me more than a mere coincidence.[48] Significantly enough, Thucydides refers to the stele of shame at the beginning of his digression on the subject of the tyrannicides, as though the two stories were reflections of each other,[49] and these were two condemnatory ways of recording the infamy of the Pisistratids and insulting their memory.

In fact, there is a contemporary case that shows to what degree, practically speaking, statuary and epigraphy went hand in hand. The statue of Hipparchus, the son of Charmus, which stood on the Acropolis, was melted down and turned into a stele of shame, probably in 488–487, shortly after the ostracism of this former archon who was related to the Pisistratids and who was the first historical figure to be ostracised (Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates*, 117):

> Then, as they [the Athenians] did not secure his person to answer for the crime, they took down his statue [*eikona*] from the Acropolis and, melting it down, made a pillar of it, on which they decreed that the names of the accursed and traitors should be inscribed [*anagraphein tous alitērious kai tous prodotas*]. Hipparchus himself has his name recorded on this pillar and all other traitors too.[50]

It was a way of perpetuating the dishonour (*Against Leocrates*, 119): 'The simple fact of melting down the bronze statue was not enough for them; they wished to leave to their successors a lasting memorial of their attitude to traitors [*tous prodotas*].'

This strange stele of infamy, made from a melted-down bronze statue, should not be confused with the inscription mentioned by Thucydides, nor with that which similarly recorded the names of the supporters of Isagoras at the time of his unsuccessful attempt to recapture power in 508 B.C.[51] Nevertheless, it is emblematic of the memorial strategy established by the Athenians in the case of the Pisistratids: namely, using defamatory inscriptions to execrate the names of tyrants and their supporters, at the same time depriving them of any right to an image within the public space. For the intention of Antenor's group of statues certainly was to insult the Pisistratids, as indeed the main figures affected were well aware, for when they returned to Athens at the time of the Second Persian War, they did all they could to wipe off that stain.

The Abduction Perpetrated by Xerxes: Insults Used as a Vehicle of Prestige

The literary tradition (Pliny the Elder, Pausanias, Arrian, and Valerius Maximus) is unanimous in claiming that Xerxes seized Antenor's effigies when his troops besieged Athens in September 480.[52] By this time, the city was practically deserted, for, at the instigation of Themistocles, the Athenians had *en masse* taken refuge on their triremes, thanks to which they would, a few days later, vanquish the Great King's fleet in the Bay of Salamis. Following a short siege, the town was sacked, and the Acropolis was set ablaze (Herodotus, 8.50–55): it was at this point that the statuary group was torn from its pedestal and carried off to Susa, one of the capitals of the Achaemenid empire (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 3.16.7–8).

Why seize the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton rather than simply destroy them? This behaviour seems all the more puzzling given that the Great King had no compunction about smashing most of the offerings set out on the Acropolis. As he saw it, the sacking was fully justified since it came in response to an earlier outrage—the burning of Sardis in 498, at the time of the revolt of the Ionian Greeks.[53] Amid the general destruction, certain monuments were targeted for particular savagery. Among these were the decapitated statues later found in the Acropolis trenches[54] and the Callimachus Nike, which was not only overturned but methodically smashed to bits.[55] The message that all this destruction conveyed was clear: the Persians were determined to take revenge on the polemarch who had died heroically at Marathon ten years earlier (Herodotus, 6.109–110).

So what can be the explanation for the exceptional fate reserved for Antenor's effigies? Before venturing an interpretation, I must make one initial point: the case of the Tyrannicides is not an isolated one. The ancient authors mention a number of other statues that were carried off by the Persians. One was 'The Water Carrier', which Themistocles had consecrated in Athens; this was seized by Xerxes after his defeat at Salamis and was taken to Sardis and placed in the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods that had been burnt to the ground by the

Greeks.[56] Furthermore, according to Herodotus, the Greeks were not alone in suffering such treatment: the monumental statue of Marduk in Babylon was likewise seized by Xerxes, who, furthermore, slaughtered the priest who was warning him not to lay hands on the statue (Herodotus, 1.183).

Far from being motivated solely by vengeance, the great king's action was prompted by a long-established Eastern tradition of stealing the sacred images of enemies, the better to weaken them[57]: in the Elamite kingdom, deportations of statues were already common by the end of the second millennium.[58] Nevertheless, such precedents do not explain why, given a wide choice of possibilities, Xerxes' choice fell upon Antenor's group. For if it was a matter of avenging the Marathon affront, there were certainly other, more suitable candidates for deportation, one being Callimachus' Nike.

By way of a hypothesis, I should like to suggest that the decision may have been prompted by the Pisistratids, who accompanied the invading troops.[59] According to Herodotus, it was they who tried to negotiate the surrender of the Athenians barricaded on the Acropolis (Herodotus, 8.52); and it was likewise they who, on the day after the capture of the sanctuary and on the orders of Xerxes, offered up sacrifices (8.55). If that was the case, the seizure of the Tyrannicides takes on a whole new meaning: not only were the Pisistratids alone in a position to decipher the political semantics of Antenor's group, but it was also in their personal interest to humiliate these statues that were explicitly aimed against them and that glorified the men who were soiled by the murder, within a ritual framework, of one of their relatives. For the purpose of the seizure of the Tyrannicides was certainly to humiliate[60] or, according to Favorinus of Arles, even to enslave them: he claims that 'Harmodius and Aristogiton have served as slaves in Persia'.[61] In this way, via their statues, those pseudo-liberators were replaced beneath the yoke.

Now we should assess the impact that that seizure had upon the Athenians themselves following the Battle of Salamis and their victorious return to within their city walls. Although not described in any of the sources, the trauma that they suffered was clearly intense, as is confirmed by the speed with which the statues were replaced: in 477/476 B.C., less than two years after Xerxes' theft.[62] For many historians, that haste to do so testified to the importance that the monument had acquired in the city.[63] But there was surely more to it than that, for the installation of a second group was by no means merely a direct substitution whose purpose was to restore the continuity of an interrupted story. Far from being neutral, the offence had deeply affected the monument's symbolism and had bestowed upon it a quite exceptional aura. That, at any rate, is the hypothesis that I should like to suggest.

The affront may well have been a catalyst, provoking a chain reaction. It is an effect of an insult—and of all other forms of negative reciprocity[64]—that often goes unnoticed and that functions in a manner similar to beneficial effects and forms of positive reciprocity. When something is given, it acquires a strong added symbolic value thanks to the prestige by which it is enriched as it passes from one hand to another.[65] Likewise, when an object becomes a victim of insults, it may, paradoxically, emerge strengthened by the ordeal, like a soldier who displays his scars as if they were decorations awarded for bravery. Although formal proof of this is unavailable, it may well be that the new statuary group set up in 477/476 did, thanks to this ordeal, acquire an aura that it did not possess before.[66] This hypotheses seems all the more plausible when one considers what happened at the end of the fourth century when the group sculpted by Antenor was at last restored to the Athenians: according to Valerius Maximus, on the return journey, in Rhodes, divine honours were bestowed upon the statues, in accordance with an altogether similar initiatory schema.[67] Far from simply being a mishap in the course of the statues' existence—one that the Athenians sought to obliterate as soon as possible—Xerxes' seizure of the group, seen from this angle, constituted a crucial stage in the construction of the statues' sacrality: it completed the two murderers' conversion into founding heroes.

The story of the Tyrannicides can certainly be divided into two series of symmetrical outrages. The first sequence, centred on the assassination, falls into three stages: Hipparchus' initial affront provokes the vengeance of Harmodius and Aristogiton, and this, in its turn, leads to Hippias' reprisals. The second cycle, focussed on the statues, similarly functions in three stages: the Athenians set up the monument devoted to the execration of the memory of the tyrants; in response, the Pisistratids encourage Xerxes to seize the group; once the Athenians are back within their walls, they replace the captured effigies by new statues. It would be mistaken to regard this simply as a return to the initial situation. Just as the interplay of gift and counter-gift alters the objects that are interchanged, the outrage suffered changes the status of the objects affected. The new statues, which were exceptional in respect of both where they were positioned and their appearance, were now endowed with a wider significance and became a symbol of the political regime that was now establishing itself in Athens.

3}

A Second Birth

THE STATUARY GROUP PRODUCED BY CRITIUS AND NESIOTES

While the birth of Antenor's statues still remains shrouded in mystery, it is nevertheless possible to establish the civil status of the second statuary group with a reasonable degree of certainty and, in a sense, to provide it with an identity card. Thanks to the evidence provided by the Parian Marble, we know the statues' precise date of birth: the new monument saw the light of day in the course of 477/476, at the time when Athens had only just emerged from the Second Persian War. It was as if the Athenians had wished to get the statues to grow anew from their base—in the same way as, on the Acropolis, Athena's olive tree, although burned down at the time of the Persian invasion, produced a healthy offshoot from its stump on the very day following the capture of the town (Herodotus, 8.55). From this point of view, the new statuary group symbolised both the liberation of the city and the permanence of its political regime.

We also know the names of those who fathered it: Critius and Nesiotes, two well-known Athenian sculptors, were commissioned by the *dēmos* to produce the new statues.[1] How was the work divided between the two men? Did they each produce one effigy and then put them together on the same base? That is unlikely, for, thanks to inscriptions discovered on the Acropolis, we know that they sometimes worked together on the creation of one and the same bronze statue.[2] So possibly one of them was the actual sculptor (maybe Critius, who is often mentioned on his own in ancient sources), while the task of the other was to cast the statues, using the indirect lost-wax technique.[3]

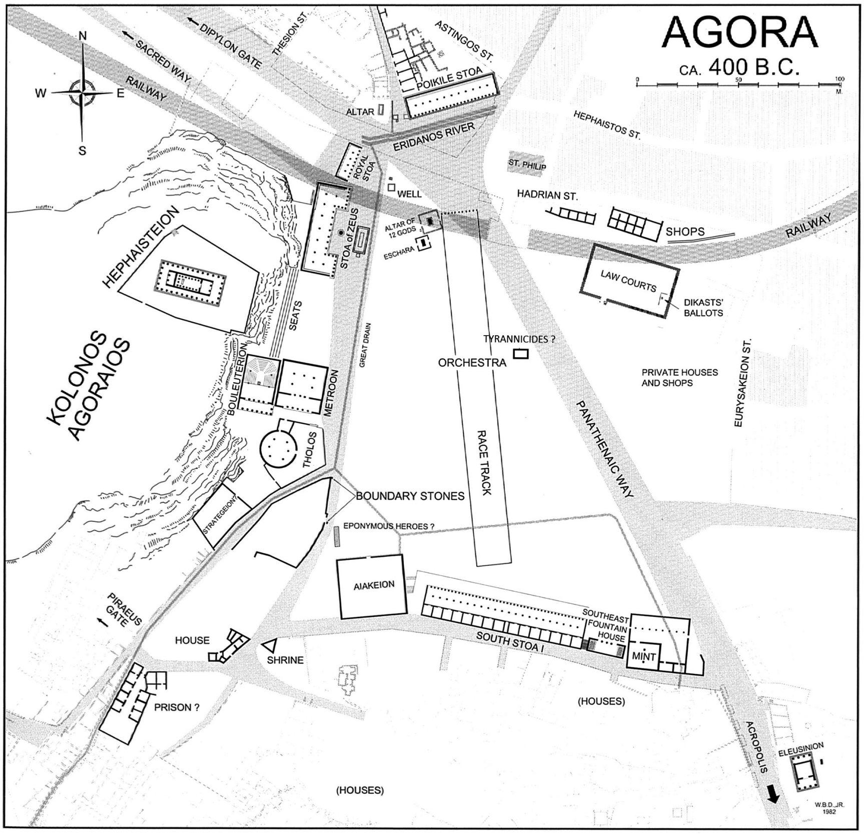
Thanks to the interlocking evidence provided by ancient authors, it is also possible to specify, within a few metres, where the statues stood on the Agora. Archaeologists have even found traces of the 'announcement' that accompanied this second birth; namely, the epigram engraved on the base of the monument, which linked the deaths of the tyrannicides closely with the appearance of the new democratic order. Lastly, we are fortunate enough to know more or less how the two new-born statues looked, thanks to the copies produced in the Roman period and to iconographic references to the statuary group that are to be found on other materials—in particular, painted ceramics. Over and above disagreements over details (and our inability to know whether this new group resembles the original), it is thus possible to reproduce accurately the significant gestures made by the two statues and to try to interpret what they symbolised. Far from being merely anecdotal, those characteristics that date from their birth played a structural role in the centuries-long life of the group and affected their reception over the very long run.

Location: The Prestigious Solitude of the Tyrannicides

The new group was set up on the Agora,[4] at a spot that it is possible to identify thanks to the evidence provided by the ancient sources, all of which are in agreement (fig. 3.1).[5] Arrian provides a first precious piece of information: the monument was to be found on the path leading to the Acropolis; that is to say, the way taken by the Panathenaic procession, opposite the Mētrōon (*Anabasis*, 3.16.8)[6]; Pausanias (1.8.4–6) makes it possible to home in on the spot more closely, for he indicates that the group was positioned between the Temple of Ares and the Odeon,[7] which indeed corresponds to the sector where two inscribed fragments of the base of the group sculpted by Critius and Nesiotes have been found[8]; finally, a short notice by Timaeus the Sophist situates the effigies in the *orchēstra*, a long, rectangular space where, up until the start of the fifth century, competitions in honour of Dionysus Lenaeus took place.[9]

Thus situated, not far from the Leocoreion, where the murder of Hipparchus took place,[10] the statuary group clearly occupied a strategic position. Up until the early Hellenistic period at least, it was particularly clearly visible: a passer-by on his way to the Acropolis from the Agora could not have missed the monuments, which stood in superb isolation close to the city's main processional route.[11] For close on to a century, the statues actually enjoyed a kind of exclusivity since, up until 394 B.C., with but one exception,[12] the Athenians did not permit the erection on the Agora of any other statue of a man, living or dead. The fact was that, within the public space of the fledgling democracy, a representation of an individual was always likely to be regarded as a manifestation of tyrannical *hubris.*[13] However, it was perfectly logical that the Tyrannicides should be regarded as an exception, given that they had helped to topple a detested regime and could therefore not be accused of having harboured any despotic ambitions.

Symptomatically enough, in 476/475 B.C., one year after the installation of the Tyrannicides, the citizens refused to grant a similar honour to Cimon and the *stratēgoi* who had been victorious over the Persians at Eion. Despite their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HEPHAISTOS ST.
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ROYAL STOA
WELL
HADRIAN ST.
ALTAR OF 12 GODS
ESCHARA
STOA of ZEUS
SHOPS
RAILWAY
LAW COURTS
DIKASTS' BALLOTS
HEPHAISTEION
SEATS
KOLONOS AGORAIOS
GREAT DRAIN
TYRANNICIDES ?
ORCHESTRA
PRIVATE HOUSES AND SHOPS
EURYSAKEION ST.
BOULEUTERION
METROON
THOLOS
RACE TRACK
PANATHENAIC WAY
BOUNDARY STONES
STRATEGEION?
EPONYMOUS HEROES ?
AIAKEION
SOUTHEAST FOUNTAIN HOUSE
SOUTH STOA I
MINT
PIRAEUS GATE
HOUSE
SHRINE
PRISON ?
(HOUSES)
ACROPOLIS
ELEUSINION
(HOUSES)
W.B.D.,JR. 1982

FIGURE 3.1 The Agora of Athens at the end of the fifth century, and the position of the statuary group. Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 3a.

resounding success, they were permitted to erect on the Agora only three stone Herms, standing together under a portico and bearing inscriptions that did not record their names (Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon*, 3.183).[14] The statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton were clearly intended to remain without peer(s). All these conditions combined to ensure that the group would become one of the principal symbols of the Athenian democracy in gestation and that it would rapidly come to embody the fundamental political values of the community, just as the epigram engraved on its base proclaimed.

Inscription: *Isonomia* Snatched from Cleisthenes?

In 1936, archaeologists uncovered on the Agora two fragments of the verse inscription carved on the base of the Tyrannicides' monument (fig. 3.2). The

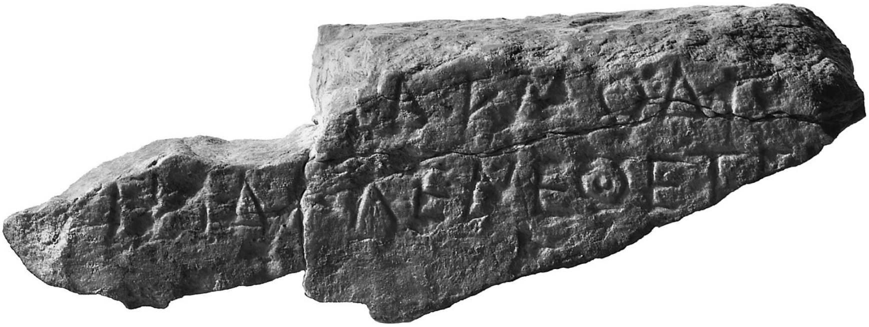

FIGURE 3.2 Fragmentary inscription from the base of the second group of Tyrannicides (*c.* 477/476 B.C.).

Athens, Agora Museum, I 3872. From Ober and Hedrick ed. (1993) 55.

first distich of the epigram, engraved in four lines, whose composition is attributed to Simonides,[15] can be completed thanks to information provided by Hephaistion, the grammarian[16]:

1 'A great light (*phoōs*) came into being for the Athenians when Aristo-
2 -giton with Harmodius killed Hipparchus.[17]'

The epigram included two other lines, forming a dedicatory inscription of an extremely fragmentary nature:

3 [- - - - - -]
4 [- - -] made their fatherland's earth . . .'

We do not know exactly what the tyrannicides were supposed to have achieved for their community, but the resemblances between the last line and two verses of Harmodius' song suggest that it might have been the establishment of *isonomia*, an ideologically charged term meaning, not only the equality of all citizens before the law, but also their equal shares in responsibilities and magistracies.[18] If that is indeed the case, poor Cleisthenes must have been turning in his grave: Harmodius and Aristogiton were being credited with not only the liberation of Athens, but also the establishment of the *isonomia* for which the reformer had struggled so hard[19]!

Actually, it matters little that such a claim was erroneous; after all, an epigram is not a history book. However, that distortion certainly reflects the important place that the tyrannicides occupied in the Athenian political imagination following the Persian Wars. And their symbolic role was not only proclaimed by the inscription, but also expressed in truly formal ways: the very positioning of the effigies was intended to parade the fundamental values of the Athenian community following the Salamis victory.

Representation: What the Athenians Saw

Following the discovery in the 1950s of plaster casts at Baiae in the thermal baths of Sosandra, at the north of the Bay of Naples, archaeologists have been able to reconstruct the general appearance of the two statues. Thanks to a good copy of the head of Aristogiton exhibited in Rome in the *Conservatori*, it is possible to form a quite accurate idea of the group as a whole (figs. 3.3 and 3.4).[20] Although a measure of ambiguity persists (especially regarding the relative positions of the two statues: back to back or chest to chest[21]), the proposed reconstruction is corroborated by other parallels, in particular the reconstructions of the group represented on Attic vases of the fifth and early fourth centuries.[22]

In the history of art as still told today, the statues produced by Critius and Nesiotes marked a decisive break. To quote Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, they indicated '[. . .] the legal birthday of the Severe (or Early Classical) Style'.[23] Following the era of the *kouroi*, characterised by their perfect rigidity and

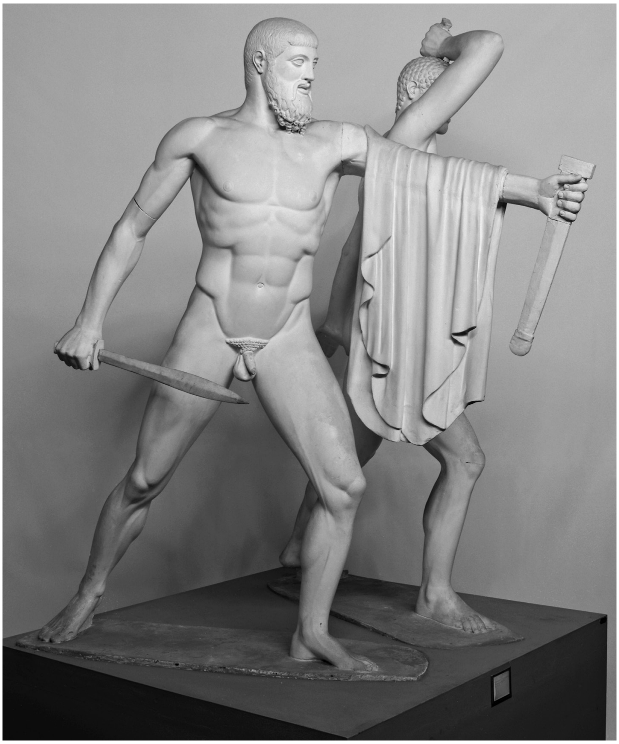

FIGURE 3.3 The Tyrannicides group (reconstruction). Plaster-cast copies, *Museo dei Gessi.*

Photos: Schwanke, Neg. D-Dai-Rom 1984.3303.

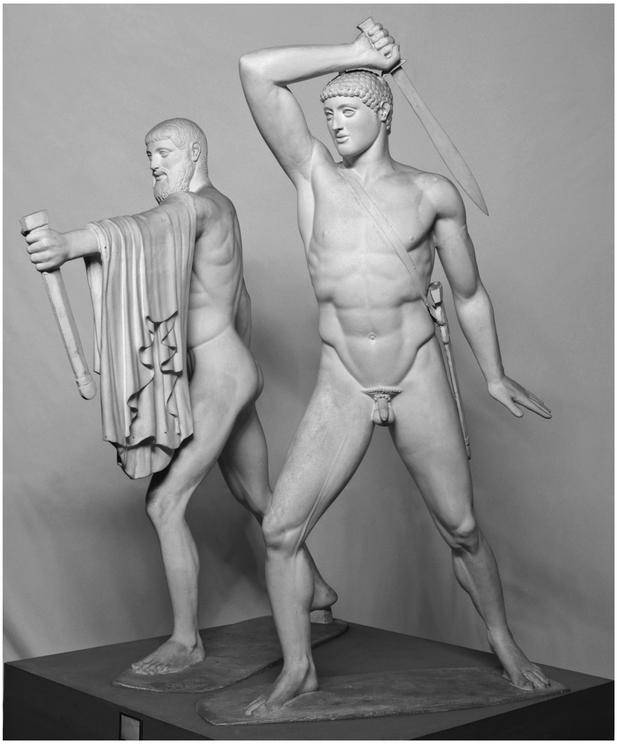

FIGURE 3.4 The Tyrannicides group (reconstruction). Plaster-cast copies, *Museo dei Gessi*.
Photos: Schwanke, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 1984.3301.

frontality, a new period opened, noted for 'the patient but inexorable conquest of bodily animation'.[24] Even if that teleological view, due to a certain extent to ignorance on our part, deserves to be questioned, it nevertheless does reflect a real evolution: the development and progress of great bronze statuary in the early fifth century, which made it technically far easier to reproduce gestures and bodies in movement.[25]

THE TYRANNICIDES, 'A MODEL OF EMOTIVE AND INTENSIFIED GESTUALITY'

Rather than begin by forcing upon the reader a detailed description of the monument produced by Critius and Nesiotes, it may be more helpful to try to concentrate on what it was about the group that so impressed the Athenians who saw it, and also on the mental image of it that they retained. This will involve paying attention both to the overall effects of the sculpture and also to significant gestures and attributes of both figures.[26] In short, we need to seize upon how it was that the Tyrannicides, through formal choices promoted by the fledgling Athenian democracy, came to embody a model of 'heightened emotional gesture' (Aby Warburg) at the start of a long-lived iconographic tradition.[27]

The first thing that strikes one is the collaborative nature of the Tyrannicides' action. From this point of view, the very arrangement of the monument emphasised the cohesion of the two figures. Far from being simply juxtaposed, the bronze figures were visually linked by an arrangement of parallel lines: Harmodius' left arm was aligned with Aristogiton's scabbard; similarly, Aristogiton's left arm was aligned with Harmodius' right forearm.[28] This apparent unity depended on an interplay of close complementarities: Harmodius' youthful ardour was matched by the controlled stance of Aristogiton, as is attested by the difference in the pattern of their respective musculature: well-developed in the case of Aristogiton, more supple in that of Harmodius. It was a complementarity to which there was also an erotic dimension.[29] For this group was formed of a pair of lovers as much as by two warriors, linking a dazzling (*lampros*) ephebe in the full flower of youth (Thucydides, 6.54.2) and an older man whose sword, held at the level of his pelvis, evoked a 'surrogate phallus'.[30] In other words, their nudity evoked eroticism as well as heroism.[31] Harmodius and Aristogiton formed an indissoluable couple—as is suggested, at a grammatical level, by the use of the dual in the song in praise of the two liberators.[32]

Beyond this overall impression of togetherness, spectators might concentrate on the two figures separately. Possibly, those who were more attentive remembered that in actual fact the Tyrannicides had not fought in a single action, together: 'While Aristogiton's surreptitious attack indicates a tyrant "still" in a position to defend himself, the blow about to be delivered by Harmodius on the contrary implies a tyrant "already" vanquished and overcome; so the two actions cannot have taken place at one and the same moment.'[33] So the sculptors had not sought to represent a hypothetical original scene—let alone a snapshot of the event—but, rather, had tried to compose a synthetic image in which each of the figures could be identified at a glance, thanks to their respective poses.

Aristogiton held his sword at the level of his pelvis, with his right arm vertical and drawn slightly back, ready for a cut-and-thrust blow, adopting a pose that was classic enough in the figurative art of the time. What was unusual about his pose lay elsewhere, on his other side. His left arm, stretched out horizontally, was wrapped in a folded *himation* (the large piece of woven cloth in which Greeks would cloak themselves), with his hand grasping a scabbard. It was the combination of those three elements (the sword at pelvis level, the cloth folded over the left arm, and the left hand holding the scabbard) that served to make the figure of Aristogiton identifiable.

Harmodius' far more specific pose was characterised by one particularly striking feature: his famous sword-thrust. The young ephebe held his bent arm above his head (not half-crooked, as the restoration in the Naples Museum suggests[34]), with the sword pointing downward past the nape of his neck, ready to strike a mighty blow downward from above. Of course, Critius and Nesiotes were by no means innovative here, for they were inspired by a schema that was already familiar in sixth-century iconography. 'Harmodius' blow', which indicated sometimes a defensive attitude, sometimes an aggressive assault, was originally a feature peculiar to Apollo and was often represented as such in illustrations of the war against the Giants.[35] By making use of this motif, the sculptors no doubt intended to assimilate the Tyrannicide to Apollo—'the god with a knife in his hand', as Marcel Detienne put it.[36] But in very little time, the gesture became a distinctive attribute of Harmodius and, more generally, the visual signature of the monument as a whole.

For it seems that, of the two figures, it was Harmodius who attracted most attention, thereby threatening to eclipse his companion. That asymmetry is discernible in certain ancient authors who, faced with this pair, have eyes only for Harmodius. Such is the case of Thucydides, who, summing up the supposed liberation of Athens, is content to mention only the name of Harmodius[37]; and it is likewise what Aristophanes was inclined to do in *The Knights, The Wasps*,[38] and above all, *The Assemblywomen* (l. 681), where the poet evokes a drawing of lots 'nearby Harmodius' statue [*par' Harmodiōi*]',[39] without even mentioning Aristogiton.[40] In similar fashion, other creators of images also seem to have preferred the stance of Harmodius, which was no doubt more unusual than the conventional one adopted by Aristogiton.[41] The Tyrannicides group was thus the object, now of an overall view, now of a selective one that focussed on the younger of the two figures and the gesture that characterised him.

THE TYRANNICIDES, CONVEYORS OF A MIMETIC IDENTIFICATION

The general image of this group prompts one final remark. Harmodius was caught in the dynamic pose of a beardless young man, just emerged from adolescence and sporting the short haircut of an ephebe. By adopting this particular iconic register, the sculptor implicitly referred to a whole world of social practices and, in particular, to the ritualised pederastic links that, in the Greek world, could attach a young adolescent (the *erōmenos*) to an older citizen (the *erastēs*). Far from being anodyne, this particular choice is well worth noting. It would appear that, in this case, at the time of the murder, the younger man was already married and a father, for we know of at least one of his direct descendants whose name was likewise Harmodius and who, in the 380s, was involved in a trial in which the accused was the *stratēgos* Iphicrates.[42] At the time of his tragic death, in 514, the handsome Harmodius was already married and a father and so he should, logically, have relinquished any passive sexual role in order to take his place as a citizen within the ranks of mature men. By electing to cast in bronze the image of an *erōmenos* in all the splendour of his youth, the city thus favoured a misleading representation (yet another lie, as Herodotus and Thucydides might well have jeered).

What should we make of this formal choice that seems in flagrant opposition to what is known from other sources about the life of Harmodius? For the new, young Athenian democracy, over and above the effects of stylisation suited to the functioning of a collective memory, it was clearly desirable to draw attention to the role that *erōs* played in the construction of political and social links. Barely half a century later, in a funeral oration that he delivered in 431 B.C., Pericles expressed that idea in striking style, encouraging all Athenians to regard their city as a handsome beloved (*erōmenos*) to be loved and protected: 'Nay rather you must daily fix your gaze upon the power of Athens and become lovers (*erastēs*) of her.'[43] Seen from this point of view, the statues of the tyrannicides deserve to be regarded as important markers in the elaboration of a veritable civic eroticism, thereby founding a tradition that crystallised in the Hellenistic period when a plethora of *Erōs* statues appeared in public spaces.[44]

It is important to identify all the consequences that issued from this erotic interpretation of the monument. By exalting the union of the two assassin-lovers, the statuary group aimed to encourage spectators to identify with the protagonists. The passer-by was encouraged to feel desire for the handsome Harmodius, so perfectly represented, and to put himself in the place of Aristogiton. Thucydides described Aristogiton as 'a middling citizen [*mesos politēs*]', and, seen as such, he was an ideal individual with whom anyone could identify. Neither rich nor poor, neither young nor old, he, better than anyone, was a figure about whom any individual could unpretentiously fantasise. Through its very arrangement, this was a monument that had the power to draw a spectator into the scene, absorbing his very body and encouraging him to relive the liberating exploit of the two lovers. The old man in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, clenching his fists in imitation of Harmodius' posture, provides a striking, if derisive, illustration of the mimetic force associated with this statuary group.[45]

Certain obstacles nevertheless impeded this identification process. For Aristogiton's posture tallied only partially with the traditional image of an *erastēs*, as represented on Athenian black-figure pottery of the late Archaic period. The fact is that the statue's aggressive gesture might just as easily evoke, not the noble figure of a lover, but the disturbing image of a *stasiōtes*, a seditious citizen about to draw his sword from its scabbard in order to shed the blood of his fellow citizens, right in the middle of a religious procession. So a spectator might well hesitate to identify with the monument, reckoning it to be ill-judged or even shocking. Nevertheless, when faced with those two threatening statues advancing ahead, a spectator would find himself forced to choose and challenged to react: was he for or against the Tyrannicides? He had to choose! To remain neutral was out of the question in a city in which, a century earlier, the legislator Solon had forced through a law that obliged every citizen, on pain of forfeiting his political rights, to declare for one camp or the other in the event of civil war (Pseudo-Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 8.5). Whether positive or negative, the spectator's emotional involvement was further intensified by the absence of the victim, Hipparchus. His striking absence no doubt constituted the monument's other singularity.

An Ellipse: What the Athenians Did Not See

This deliberate ellipse reflected a desire to concentrate solely on the meaningful actions of the tyrannicides.[46] Nothing was to distract from the spectacle provided by the two liberators, whose action embodied the fundamental values of the community: equality between all citizens, collaboration between different age-groups, sacrifice for the sake of the country. But that choice was also designed to bestow a universal significance upon the action of Harmodius and Aristogiton, separating it from its original context. In the case of Antenor's group of figures, the absence of the tyrant had paradoxically rendered his presence more haunting; however, such was no longer the case in the 470s. As the memory of Hipparchus faded, the avenging action of the tyrannicides assumed an increasingly abstract character, becoming emblematic of the Athenians' struggle for liberty. For the Pisistratids were no longer the only enemies targeted by the monument: the figure of the tyrant was now superseded by that of the Great King—the very one who had dared to carry off Antenor's statues. In a telling synchronism, the new group of statues was set up in the very same year as the Delian League was set up, as if that political alliance against the Persian invader was now given a further symbolic representation on the Agora.[47]

The absence of the tyrant produced a crucial consequence: it favoured a radical decontextualisation of the effigies, which could now be ascribed new meanings that were more in keeping with the times.[48] It was because they had become abstract emblems, detached from their original world of reference, that the statues could now be recycled on vases and on the city's public monuments. Adopting the posture of a Tyrannicide made it possible to express support for a whole set of democratic values and to do so with a great economy of formal means.

Whilst, in the long term, this symbolic dimension enhanced the popularity of the group, it could at times also act against it. As standard-bearers of democracy, the statues of the tyrannicides certainly provided ideal targets for opponents of the regime: to attack the Tyrannicides was to strike at the heart of democratic ideology; and it was all the more tempting to do so given that, at a formal level, the monument was easy to pervert. Because the victim was not represented, a spectator was afforded a measure of latitude in reconstituting the meaning of the monument. With little malice, he could easily hint that the tyrannicides were engaged in a fight of a dubious nature.[49] Furthermore, the respective poses of Harmodius and Aristogiton were frequently misrepresented by being associated with other figures. It was a form of iconographic recycling that operated sometimes as discreet homage, but sometimes as barely disguised criticism.

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The Artist's Studio as a Playground

ICONOGRAPHIC VARIATIONS BASED ON THE TYRANNICIDES (*C.* 470–411 B.C.)

Throughout the entire fifth century, Harmodius and Aristogiton enjoyed immense popularity among the Athenians. Far from waning with time, their fame even reached a peak between 450 and 430 B.C. This may have been the point at which the tyrannicides' tomb was adorned by an epigram composed by Ion of Chios.[1] More certainly, it was at this point that the city granted extraordinary honours to the tyrannicides' descendants. According to the terms of a decree sometimes attributed to Pericles,[2] the eldest of the two lines of descendants, who were regarded as the doubles of the two heroic liberators, were granted *sitēsis*, the privilege of being fed throughout their lives at the expense of the city.[3] It was also at this time that the People's Assembly decided to provide a dowry for one of Aristogiton's granddaughters, who was living on Lemnos in great poverty, so as to enable her to marry a well-born man in Athens (Plutarch, *Aristides*, 27.4). The solicitude displayed by the *dēmos* was, in the circumstances, not particularly surprising, for at a time when the Spartan threat was becoming increasingly pressing and the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.) was looming, it was in the Athenians' interest to promote a version of the tyrannicides' story that omitted any reference to the crucial role played by Sparta in the liberation of the city in 510 B.C.[4]

It was amid this atmosphere so favourable to the exaltation of the tyrannicides that the statues produced by Critius and Nesiotes spent their first decades on the Agora, attracting much attention and sparking much discussion. The literary documentation that we possess unfortunately says nothing about those early years, so we need to turn to different, iconographical sources in order to assess the undeniable popularity that this statuary group enjoyed as early as the second half of the fifth century. Painters and sculptors delighted in representing other individuals in the poses that characterised the Tyrannicides' statues, and they did so not merely on banqueting tableware, but also on some of the city's public monuments. In a fascinating interplay of mirror-images, Theseus, hero-founder of the Athenian political community, was represented now as Harmodius, now as Aristogiton, not only on drinking goblets, but also on the numerous metopes of the Temple of Hephaestus, the most sumptuous monument on the Agora of Athens, which was constructed in 440–430 B.C.[5] (Readers may take the measure of these visual interplays by consulting the photographs provided in the appendix to this book.)

We should try to grasp the varying degrees of accuracy of such allusions to the statuary group and, in particular, the context, sometimes public, sometimes private, in which these images were received. The vessels used in *symposia* (the private banquets where the city's élites would gather for drinking parties) deserve an enquiry devoted solely to them, for it was on banqueting cups that the tyrannicides sometimes appeared in unexpected or even irreverent iconographic guises. What should we make of these iconographic nods and winks directed at the Athenian élite? Were they simply childish jokes, or did they, on the contrary, carry a subversive political charge? The present incursion into the pictorial world of distinguished Athenians certainly suggests that we should devote considerable thought to the political impact of images.

Interlude: The Tyrannicides at the Symposium

Harmodius and Aristogiton undoubtedly occupied a place of their own in the world of Athenian banquets.[6] That may seem surprising when one reflects that the *symposion* was in many respects an elitist or even anti-democratic space.[7] However, a number of factors may be suggested to explain that apparent incongruity. First, we should perhaps recall the powerful erotic resonances of the tyrannicides' story. In Plato's *Symposion* (182c), their example served to illustrate the political virtues of *erōs* between men. This was a theme for reflection that was particularly appropriate for a *symposion*. However, the reason why the tyrannicides aroused interest in the course of such a banquet was also, as the *symposion* guests must have been well aware, that they embodied a form of *isonomia*, equal sharing. At a *symposion*, all the drinkers were placed on an equal footing as the 'cup of equality', the *anisōma*, circulated amongst them (Athenaeus, 10.447A). It was precisely this egalitarian aspect that was emphasised in the drinking song that had been composed in honour of the tyrannicides, namely the *skolion* of Harmodius.[8]

THE SONG OF HARMODIUS OR THE ART OF IMPROVISATION

This air rang out so often in Athenian *symposia* that, in the last third of the fifth century, 'singing the Harmodius' had become synonymous with banqueting (Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 980).[9] Athenaeus (15.694F) included several of the song's quatrains in his work:

I will bear my sword in a myrtle branch [*en murtou kladi*
to xiphos phorēsō],
like Harmodius and Aristogiton,
when the two of them killed the tyrant
and made Athens a place of political equality [*isonomous*].
Beloved Harmodius, you are not dead at all;
instead, they say you are in the Isles of the Blessed,
where swift-footed Achilles is,
and Tydeus's son + they say the noble + Diomedes.

I will bear my sword in a myrtle branch [*en murtou kladi*
to xiphos phoreso],
Like Harmodius and Aristogiton,
when at a sacrifice in honour of Athena
the two of them killed the tyrant.
The story of you two will always survive in our land,
Beloved Harmodius and Aristogiton,
how the two of you killed the tyrant
and made Athens a place of political equality.[10]

This song, already the subject of numerous analyses on account of its political content,[11] needs to be placed in the context in which it was sung, so that we may understand what prompted it. According to Aristophanes and Plutarch, all those present were required, each in turn, to sing one line or strophe, taking over where the preceding singer left off, in a kind of convivial *agōn*. A myrtle branch was passed from one guest to the next, to start off each new singer.[12] The song clearly depended on the art of variation, as is suggested by the presence, in each of the four couplets, of repeated lines or syntagmas that reappeared unchanged. This indicates a form of oral composition that relied on improvisation and that enabled the singers simply to embroider upon the pre-established format.[13]

There is evidence to prove that there was no text fixed once and for all for Harmodius' *skolion*, for Aristophanes, the first author to mention it, cites a line that does not appear among the couplets preserved in the *Deipnosophistai.*[14] Athenaeus, immersed in his erudite quest, thus seems to have bestowed upon the song a coherence and stability that it probably never possessed in the classical period.[15] We should imagine it undergoing a perpetual transformation that suited the *symposion* games and that allowed for many deviations.[16] It is precisely to that art of deviation—in other words, parody, in the etymological sense—that Aristophanes resorts in his *Wasps*.

ARISTOPHANES' *WASPS*: SONG AND COUNTER-SONG

In this play, presented in 422 B.C., just before the death of Cleon, the young and refined Bdelycleon/Loathecleon endeavours to teach his father Philocleon/

Lovecleon the manners of the Athenian élites and, in particular, how to behave in a *symposion.*[17] To this end, he imagines a fictional banquet to which his father has been invited in the company of Cleon and his gang (v. 1220). After the dinner and the libations comes the time for singing. Loathecleon, assuming the roles of both actor and director in this play within a play, takes the role of Cleon and engages his father in conversation (v. 1224–1227):

> [Loathecleon] 'Suppose I'm Cleon, and I start singing the
> Harmodius song and you're going to take it up.
> 'Never was a man in Athens born [. . .]
> [Lovecleon] [. . .] so great a scoundrel and such a thief!'[18]

The whole scene relies on a truly dizzying game of masks: one actor takes the role of Loathecleon, who, in this imaginary banquet, passes himself off as Cleon, who, as he sings, pretends to be Harmodius! It is a total muddle, and the humour stems from the fact that Lovecleon restores the singer to his original identity—which, in these circumstances, is in fact not really his own at all.

In this context, Aristophanes' message was crystal-clear: the poet aimed to ridicule those who, 'at the tops of their voices', recalled the memory of the tyrannicides, but without manifesting any of their virtues. In this respect, Cleon presented an excellent target, for he was apparently actually related, through his wife,[19] to the family of Harmodius—a prestigious link that he had possibly used, or even abused, in the course of his political career. In *The Knights* (v. 447–449), Aristophanes had already in 424 covertly mocked what he judged to be a misalliance, suggesting that Cleon had more in common with the Pisistratids than with the tyrannicides, since his grandfather had apparently acted as spear-holder to the wife of Hippias!

Over and above its immediate aim (to poke fun at Cleon), this scene also testifies to the manner in which, in a banquet, in the heat of improvisation, the song of Harmodius could be distorted. The tyrannicides themselves did not emerge unscathed from these ironical games, for the mockery affected them, too. We even know that there was a fourth-century law that banned songs that mocked the tyrannicides, thereby testifying, *a contrario*, to the existence of songs in-the-round that poured scorn upon them. The orator Hyperides (*Against Philippides*, §3 Whitehead) echoes this in a speech in which he attacks a descendant of the tyrannicides, a certain Democrates of Aphidna:

> [. . .] The people wrote a prohibition in a law, forbidding anyone either to slander [*kakōs*] Harmodius and Aristogiton or to sing a rude song about them [*mēt' aisai epi ta kakiona*]. So if the people saw fit to make it impossible for even a drunkard to slander your ancestors, how terrible that you defame the people sober![20]

The reference to drunkenness suggests that the law specifically targeted the *symposia*. There was nothing surprising in that. According to Aristophanes, a *symposion* was a setting in which one learned to drink, party, and sing bawdy songs.[21] We must imagine the creation of counter-songs that lampooned the tyrannicides, possibly parodying the *skolion* of Harmodius. This would be like the way in which, at the turn of the twentieth century, within a tense political context in France, anti-clericals, in order to deride Monseigneur Félix Dupanloup—the famous *Père Dupanloup*—recycled the tune of a popular ditty, *Cadet Rousselle*, transforming it into a ribald song, *Bali-Balo*, to target the unfortunate Dupanloup.

From this musical interlude, we should retain three striking features that cast new light upon the iconographic allusions to the Tyrannicides made within the framework of the *symposion*. Firstly, the incredible popularity of Harmodius' song must have prepared the banqueters to recognise on the banqueting vessels the images of the heroes whom they were bent on celebrating whenever possible. The images and the songs covered the same thematic field and so were likely to reflect one another.[22]

Secondly, the *skolion* rested upon an interplay between the roles assumed by the singer on one hand, and the tyrannicides on the other. Whoever sang out the couplet was committed to imitating their gestures: 'I will bear my sword in a myrtle branch, like Harmodius and Aristogiton.' So the song, in its own way, became a part of the culture of doubles and *mimēsis* that characterised the two liberators and their effigies.

Finally, Harmodius' song was sometimes twisted in the course of the banquet games, in which identities could be temporarily exchanged and, between two toasts, the celebration could, to the delight of the participants, turn into mockery. Seen from this angle, one detects a clear homology between the song and the bowls upon which their painters sometimes copied the poses of the Tyrannicides, deliberately introducing syntactical mistakes, just as Loathecleon distorted the tyrannicides' *skolion*.

Banquet Games: The Tyrannicides Distorted?

On the banquet vessels, unexpected figures sometimes adopted postures that were characteristic of Harmodius or Aristogiton. Some painters were markedly more inclined than others to favour this type of distortion—in particular the Blenheim Painter and Aison, and likewise the Niobids Painter, who in several instances recycles the pose of one or the other Tyrannicide. The latter does occasionally go as far as to indulge in a wink or nudge that makes the citation ambiguous—as, for example, when, on a famous crater now in the Louvre,[23] he bestows upon Apollo a partial likeness to Aristogiton. However, on a famous volute crater discovered in Gela and now displayed in Agrigento (*c.* 475–450 B.C., fig. 4.1), he quite deliberately elaborated an allusion to the statuary group representing Harmodius and Aristogiton.[24]

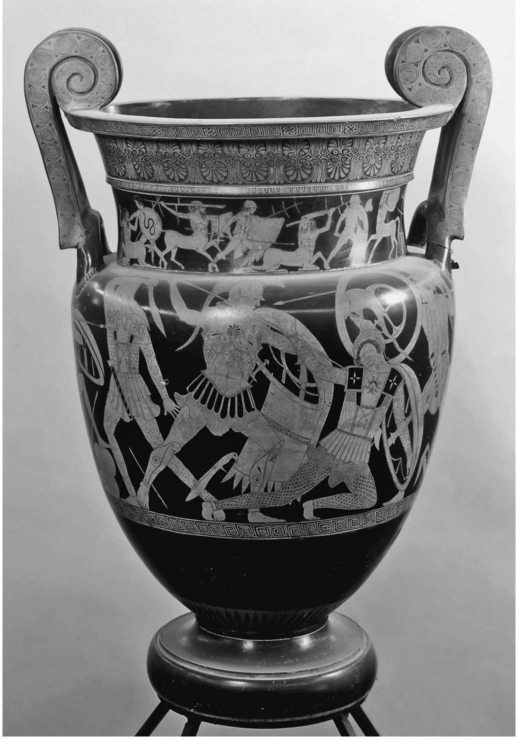

FIGURE 4.1 Voluted crater by the Niobids Painter, Agrigento (*c.* 475–450 B.C.).
Agrigento, *Museo Archeologico Regionale*, no. 8952.

THE TYRANNICIDES REPRESENTED AS AMAZONS?

On the belly of the pot, the painter has clearly illustrated an Amazonomachy, the mythical battle between the Athenians, led by Theseus, and the proud Amazons who had come to besiege the Acropolis. In this painting, one of the female warriors is given the appearance of Harmodius. Far from this being a chance likeness, the allusion is clearly deliberate, for on the neck of the vase the artist has also carefully painted a Centauromachy (the fabled battle between the centaurs, violent hybrid horse/man creatures, and the Lapiths, a warrior people from northern Greece). Here, one of these warriors adopts the pose of Aristogiton.[25] Despite a few inaccuracies (for the fighter is represented as beardless and is brandishing a spear rather than a sword), the similarities are great enough to set off a wink or nudge that is linked with the Amazon striking the pose of Harmodius, just below (figs. 4.1 and 4.2).

There is proof *a contrario* that shows that this transposition was intentional: upon comparing the Gela crater with another Amazonomachy painted by the same artist on a vase found in Ruvo and preserved in Naples,[26] we

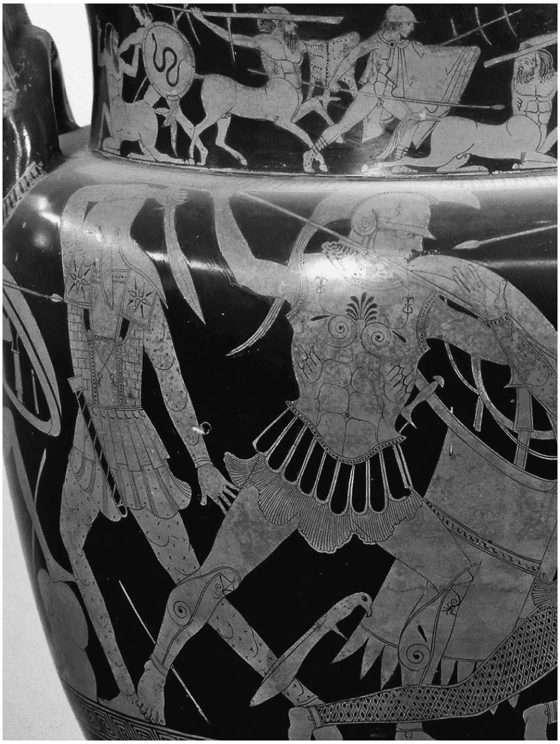

FIGURE 4.2 Voluted crater by the Niobids Painter, Agrigento (details).

find that the Niobids Painter has reproduced exactly the same compositional schema, but here associates Harmodius' pose not with an Amazon, but with a Greek hoplite. Does this mark a return to the expected norm? Probably not, for, in view of the absence of any figure adopting the pose of Aristogiton, which would have established a connection, the allusion does not seem necessarily deliberate.

The Gela crater is thus doubly original: firstly, because the artist has chosen to evoke the statuary group in a distorted manner, stressing the interplay between the pot's upper and lower registers; and secondly, because he has allotted Harmodius' stance, *par excellence* the symbol of a masculine and victorious democracy, to an Amazon, who is not only a woman but also a barbarian and a sworn enemy of the Athenians.[27] Should we regard this as a veiled criticism of the democratic system aimed at banqueters in the know? That would no doubt be going too far. However, at the very least, the strange transposition reflects the painter's desire to distance himself somewhat from the heavy symbolism attached to the statuary group and to do so in a Dionysian context conducive to transgressions and disguises.[28]

HARMODIUS *VERSUS* ARISTOGITON: AN OBLIQUE REPRESENTATION OF *STASIS*?

Even though several other figured scenes seem to play similar visual games, in some cases it is hard to prove the presence of any allusion, particularly in the case of the painted vases found in Etruria or Lucania, where the potential spectators were not steeped in the Athenian anti-tyrannical culture and were not even capable of detecting such an analogy.[29] However, in the case of another image inspired by the world of the *symposion* and the transgressions associated with it, we are on firmer ground. On a red-figure bowl preserved in Florence and attributed to the Sotades Painter (c. 460–430 B.C., fig. 4.3),[30] no hero is immediately identifiable: the painter has represented two anonymous warriors, whose poses clearly evoke the effigies of the Tyrannicides, as Alessandro Ermini has clearly demonstrated.[31]

Once again, the allusion depends on a subtle interplay of differences and resemblances. The similarities are certainly clear. The Pseudo-Harmodius holds his sword in the same way as the Tyrannicide, ready to strike down from above. As for the Pseudo-Aristogiton, he re-adopts the stance of his double, with, in particular, the characteristic cloak draped over his extended left arm. However, the differences are equally evident: the Pseudo-Harmodius is clothed and, instead of extending his left arm alongside his body, he has it half-bent, holding in his hand a spear; the Pseudo-Aristogiton, likewise, holds, not a sword at the level of his pelvis, as might have been expected, but instead a spear at shoulder level.

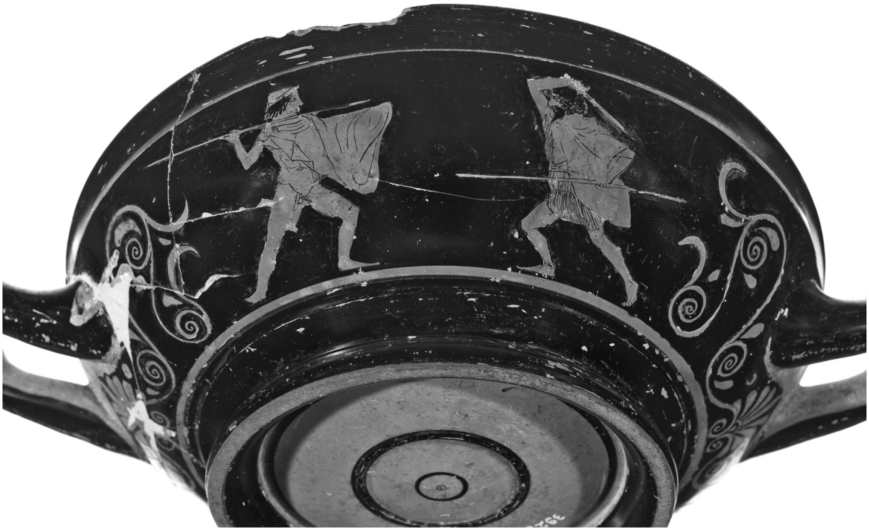

FIGURE 4.3 Bowl by the Sotades Painter (*c*. 460–430 B.C.).

Florence, *Museo Archeologico* 3928 = *ARV*^{2} 770, 4.

Nevertheless, the painter provides enough clues for the connection to be made in the mind of the beholder. What makes the scene recognisable lies in the interaction between the two figures, which is conveyed by a series of adjustments. These two fighters are, in effect, caught in an astonishing mirror-play. Through a strange interchange, the Pseudo-Harmodius sports a beard, while the Pseudo-Aristogiton is clean-shaven, as if the two Tyrannicides had swapped a part of their identities. Finally, instead of uniting their efforts towards a common end, these two Tyrannicides are fighting against each other, like a latter-day Eteocles and Polynices.

Such rare and deviant allusions function in two different but sometimes complementary ways. Either, in a strange telescoping manner, painters lend the Tyrannicides' appearance to figures that embody 'the Other'—for example, Amazons; alternatively, they imagine a fight between the two Tyrannicides themselves, representing them by replacement doubles, so that the two effigies appear to be fighting, not side by side, but face to face. The fact that the tyrant himself was not represented in the statuary group no doubt facilitated such a manipulation.

In this way, the painters were perhaps, within the logic peculiar to the image, lending a voice to certain critics who had the tyrannicides in their sights—critics whose views Herodotus echoed in his works. Although the historian recognised the popularity of Harmodius and Aristogiton, he was critical of them on two counts, the one malicious, the other more serious.[32] In the first place, he delighted in seizing upon the barbarian origins of Harmodius and Aristogiton (5.57): 'Now the Gephyraean clan, to which belonged the slayers of Hipparchus, is said by themselves to have come at first from Eretria; but my own enquiry shows that they were some of the Phoenicians who came with Cadmus to the country now called Boeotia.' Herodotus thus ascribed an oriental origin to the two tyrannicides, even though they were generally believed to be the very embodiment of the Athenian community that prided itself on being autochthonous.[33] In view of this, it should come as no surprise to find vase paintings of Amazons adopting the attitudes of Harmodius and Aristogiton.

But Herodotus' main attack is aimed against a different aspect of this episode. What he most holds against the tyrannicides (6.123.2) is that, through their thoughtless action, they exasperated 'the rest of Pisistratus' kin [. . .] and did nothing to end the rule of the rest of them'.[34] As Herodotus saw it, far from founding a new order, Harmodius and Aristogiton above all contributed to increasing the repression and fuelling internal clashes in the city. So, in the images in which the tyrannicides appear to be engaged in a fratricidal struggle, should we detect a way of representing visually their responsibility for the Athenian *stasis* of the end of the Archaic period?

That is a beguiling hypothesis, but it remains a fragile one. For those images on vases were neither history books nor disguised political programmes. They were intended above all to amuse drinkers and to get them talking, encouraging them to tell stories, start discussions, or settle down to singing in a festive ambience. Yet should we rule out all political significance where these more or less benign iconographic games were concerned? Really, it is all a matter of context. These visual winks and nudges no doubt acquired new meaning at the end of the Peloponnesian War, when *symposia* became the matrix of oligarchic associations (*hetaireiai*).[35] At this point, a banquet did become a place for political contests, where those present would openly mock the democracy, parody the sacred rites of Athens, or, possibly, gibe at the tyrannicides in both songs and images, regarding them as symbols of the hated democratic regime.

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The Disorders of a Thankless Age

THE OLIGARCHIC REVOLUTION OF 411 B.C. AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

In 413, the disastrous outcome of the Sicilian expedition dealt the city an extremely heavy blow: over 12 000 citizens perished in the venture, among them many of the oarsmen who constituted the social basis of the democracy. Seizing their chance, the city's allies rebelled against Athenian domination, and the democratic consensus forged in the fifth century was undermined. It was a time of unrest for some of the city's élites, who, ever since the ostracism of Cimon in 461 and of Thucydides of Alopeke in 443, had found themselves marginalised and had, in silence, been champing at the bit.

In June 411, while many of the poorer citizens were absent because they were aboard the triremes sent to continue the war against Sparta, the oligarchs seized power in Athens, suppressing the institutional means that made it possible for the *dēmos* to keep the Athenian élites under strict control: accusations of illegality brought against orators (*graphē paranomōn*) and of high treason (*eisangelia*) brought against *stratēgoi*, and claims for justice were all suppressed. The payments to cover participation in political life (*misthoi*), which were the symbols *par excellence* of democracy, were abolished, the Boule of the Five Hundred was replaced by a council with four hundred members, and the current magistrates were forced to resign.

However, this oligarchic experiment was short-lived: barely four months after their appointment, the Four Hundred were dissolved, and power was transferred to the Five Thousand, who were more moderate and were recruited from amongst 'those Athenians who in person and property were most capable of serving the city' (Pseudo-Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 29.5). During the autumn of 411, the democratic institutions were progressively re-established (*Athenian Constitution*, 63.1).

How did the Tyrannicides fare during this intense crisis? Nobody knows, so at this point we are reduced to the history of a documentary silence, which is bound to be experimental. It nevertheless seems to me that, despite the absence of direct sources, we may venture a sidelong glance at events, one that is illuminated by what was happening just before and just after the temporary abolition of democracy. Shortly before, in 411, Critius and Nesiotes' statuary group was ridiculed in the theatre, in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*; soon after 411, the Athenians assimilated Phrynichus, one of the Four Hundred, to a new Hipparchus legitimately assassinated by two men who were then showered with honours; then, one year later, all Athenian citizens solemnly swore to use any means possible to oppose a return to tyranny, taking Harmodius and Aristogiton as their explicit model.

In between that oligarchic attack and the defensive reaction that followed, one senses something akin to growing pains: at the time of the 411 revolution, the effigies of the Tyrannicides were probably abused, if not materially, at least verbally, on account of their 'strongly and specifically democratic flavour'.[1] However, yet again, once the crisis was over, that abuse helped to lend the statuary group a new lustre. I shall now, as an experiment, risk developing that hypothesis by resorting to a controlled use of analogy. So, let us examine a parallel event; namely, the fabled fate of the statue of the tyrannicide Philites, in Erythrae. This was likewise maltreated by the oligarchs of that city, but then, once democracy was re-established, it was restored to its full glory.

Before 411: The Tyrannicides Ridiculed

Even before the oligarchs seized power in the city, Aristophanes was already trumpeting the signal to attack the Tyrannicides. At the beginning of 411, in his *Lysistrata*, he mocked the pose of the statues and questioned the historical bases for the veneration that surrounded them.[2] The theme of the play is well known: women from all over Greece have flocked to Athens, where they solemnly swear not to make love with their husbands until the latter lay down their weapons and bring the interminable Peloponnesian War to an end. Having sworn this oath, they occupy the Acropolis, hoping to lay hands on what keeps the war going; namely, the city's treasury (v. 489). The reaction of the males is instantaneous. The Chorus, composed of decrepit ancients (the only men left in this lifeless city), tries to halt this feminine insurrection, behind which it senses 'the tyranny of Hippias' (v. 619).

At the head of the extenuated body of men, the chorus-leader takes on the role of a new tyrannicide, ready to demolish these infamous 'femmes':

> Actually, this plot they weave against us, gentlemen, aims at tyranny [*epi turannidi*]! Well, they'll never tyrannize over me: from now on I'll be on my guard, 'I'll bear my sword in a myrtle branch [*phorēsō to xiphos en murtou kladi*]' and go to market fully armed right up beside Aristogiton.

> I'll stand beside him [*par' auton*] like this [*hōde*]; that way I'll be ready to smack this godforsaken old hag right in the jaw![3]

It is as though, in a strange mimetic process, the chorus-leader becomes a part of the Tyrannicides group: the old man imagines himself standing in the Agora, fully armed, 'beside Aristogiton' (*par' auton*); that is to say, precisely where Harmodius stands, taking over not only his song, but also his characteristic stance. The adverb *hōde* served as a stage direction: the chorus-leader was to stand 'like that'—to adopt the pose of the young Tyrannicide.[4] The scene thus conveyed the close links that connected the effigies with a culture of doubles and imitation.

Here, though, imitation became caricature. For Aristophanes chose to emphasise the difference between the original and the copy, the handsome Harmodius in all the glory of youth, and the ancient chorus-leader, so very old and decrepit. The chorus-leader is nothing like an ephebe: 'Our man is like his companions, literally and figuratively, a hairy old man. He is *melampugos* [black-buttocked: v. 802–803] and a brave old warrior.'[5] Furthermore, he is an exact contemporary of the tyrannicides, for he claims to have been among those who ejected the Spartan king Cleomenes from the Acropolis in 510 B.C.,[6] and even that he was one of the Athenians who opposed the tyrant Hippias at Leipsydrion, in 513 B.C., right after the murder of Hipparchus (v. 665). Was this Aristophanes' way of suggesting, between the lines, what Harmodius might have become had he survived the murder: once a glorious ephebe, now a withered, senile old man? At any rate, there is a total disparity between the idealised figure of Harmodius, everlastingly fixed in his glorious death, and the hideous appearance of the chorus-leader, ravaged by time and, no doubt, wearing an ugly theatrical mask.[7]

Nor does the mockery stop there. Aristophanes also ridicules the pose adopted by the chorus-leader in his pathetic imitation of Harmodius. We need to picture a comic scene in which the avenging gesture of the young Tyrannicide becomes a feeble would-be uppercut delivered by a weak old man. The actor must certainly have punched a fist into the air, ending up with his arm above his head in the position adopted by Harmodius. The imitation would have been doubly grotesque, both because the chorus-leader turned Harmodius' thunderous attack into a derisory punch and also because the person he was attacking was an inoffensive old woman, not a bloodthirsty tyrant—and, furthermore, he did not even manage to knock her over!

The Tyrannicides did not emerge enhanced from this grotesque parody, for their action was made to seem, if not identical, at least comparable to that of the chorus-leader. Such is the particular effect of comic analogies: to put everyone, heroes and nobodies alike, on the same footing. There can be no doubt that Aristophanes was poking fun at the Tyrannicides, for, not content merely to distort Harmodius' appearance in this passage, he also makes fun of the song that was associated with the handsome ephebe. As we have noted, the chorus-leader strikes up with the opening line of the famous *skolion*: 'I'll bear my sword in a myrtle branch.' Why mention nothing but this first line? Was it because the song was so well-known that the first line on its own was quite sufficient to direct a knowing wink at the listeners? No, in truth the explanation lies elsewhere. In proceeding in this manner, the poet was above all seeking to erase the song's political aspect, which found expression in the lines that followed: 'I will bear my sword in a myrtle branch like Harmodius and Aristogiton when the two of them killed the tyrant and made Athens a place of political equality.'[8] By isolating the first line, Aristophanes was able to give it an equivocal, even obscene meaning, in a context in which the spectators were on the alert to detect terms with double meanings. In Attic comedy, a sword (*xiphos*) often served as a metaphor for the masculine sex organ, in the manner of the *braquemart* ('prick' or penis) so dear to Rabelais and the sword in Shakespeare, while the myrtle (*murtos*) sometimes referred to the feminine sexual parts.[9] So, as Gérard Lambin has shown, this phrase might well be understood as follows: 'I shall—not for the first time—place my prick in a bush of myrtle.'[10] Faced with women who had sworn to go on strike where sex was concerned and 'to give up the prick' (v. 124), Aristophanes' sally of course took on a spicy allure. But the spectators' mirth cost the tyrannicides dear, for the parody changed their action into a mere erotic triviality devoid of any political significance.

That criticism was further elaborated at the end of the play when Lysistrata pointed out (v. 1150–1156) that it was not the tyrannicides who put an end to tyranny, but the Spartans: 'Don't you remember how the Spartans in turn, when you were dressed in slaves' rags, came with their spears and wiped out many Thessalian fighters, many friends and allies of Hippias? That day when they were the only ones helping you to drive them out? And how they liberated you and replaced your slaves' rags with a warm cloak, as suits a free people?' In words that he placed on the lips of his heroine, Aristophanes thus covertly challenged the Athenian version of history that pushed the two 'liberators' to the fore and passed over in silence the decisive role played by the Spartans.[11] Nor is this historical argument by any means inconsequential in the play, for it is the reminder of that past collaboration that leads the belligerents to bring the conflict to a close. The comedy ends with a general reconciliation between both the men and the women and also between the Athenians and the Spartans, under the benevolent gaze of the gods, in particular Athena, who is revered by both cities and constitutes a ritual link between the two peoples.

However, attentive spectators could draw a conclusion quite different from this utopian ending: the obsessive harping on the tyrannicides turned out to be an obstacle to peace, for it encouraged the Athenians to throw themselves into foolhardy and ineffectual undertakings (such as the Sicilian expedition), following the example set by the assassination, which had certainly not led to the city's liberation, but had instead resulted in a hardening of Hippias' tyranny.[12]

Let me make myself clear: it is not my intention to attribute a precise political position to Aristophanes, let alone to represent him to be an apostle of any 'resistance' to radical democracy and its foremost heroes, namely the tyrannicides. The fact is that the comic poet was not concerned to produce 'propaganda plays' or political manifestos; rather, he set out to encourage lines of thought that pushed the logic of democratic institutions to an absurd limit and thereby sparked laughter among the spectators. All the same, it is quite true that Aristophanes' mockery fitted in with a wider context, stimulating criticism of the tyrannicides, who were not only mocked in the comic theatre,[13] but also found themselves attacked in historical works and sometimes parodied on sympotic pottery and also in drinking songs.

Did such attacks reach a climax at the time of the revolution of the Four Hundred, a mere few months after the performance of *Lysistrata*? In all probability they did, although there is no formal evidence to prove it. To develop that hypothesis further, we need to consider what happened after the restoration of democracy, which constitutes, as it were, a negative imprint of the oligarchic episode itself.

After 411: The Tyrannicides Reactivated

There is one (unfortunately extremely hypothetical) element that may be added to the file relating to the reactions in favour of the tyrannicides that became detectable after 411. If, as Massimo Vetta[14] believes, the law forbidding assaults on the two liberators was passed at the end of the fifth century, following one or other of the two oligarchic episodes (in 410/9 and 403), this could indirectly suggest that Harmodius and Aristogiton did come under attack at those times. But that is no more than a conjecture, and, in order to find a firmer footing, we need to leave the terrain of institutions and examine Athenian political attitudes consequent upon the 411 revolution. In the months that followed, the Athenians reinterpreted the traumatic events that they had just lived through, and they did so in the light of the precedent constituted by the murder of Hipparchus.

PHRYNICHUS, THE NEW HIPPARCHUS: A FABRICATION OF INFAMY

In the civic memory, the regime of the Four Hundred was regarded not as an oligarchy—although that is what it, in effect, was—but as a many-headed tyranny. From amongst all those who had been involved in this episode, the Athenians picked out a few figures that they assimilated to unscrupulous tyrants.[15] Such was, in particular, the case of Phrynichus, who, in troubled circumstances, was assassinated by two individuals. His death was likened to that of Hipparchus, and the two assassins were hailed as liberators, just as Harmodius and Aristogiton had been.

This wealthy Athenian, Phrynichus, had been elected *stratēgos* in 412 and sent to Samos to fight against the Spartans in Ionia. Upon his return to the city, Phrynichus became one of the most ardent supporters of the oligarchic regime that was set in place in the following year (Thucydides, 8.68.2). However, he never became a leader of the Four Hundred, for that role fell to Pisander and Antiphon, as is made clear first by Thucydides (8.68.1),[16] and subsequently by the author of *The Athenian Constitution* (32.2), who, in his reconstruction of this episode, does not even mention Phrynichus.[17] However, in the eyes of most Athenians, this henchman was soon considered the perpetrator of the troubles that assailed the city. By 405 B.C., Aristophanes was singling out Phrynichus for blame, ascribing to him alone the blunders of his imprudent companions (*Frogs,* v. 686–705); and a couple of decades later, the orator Lysias (*Against Agoratus*, 13.73) even claimed that it was Phrynichus 'who established the Four Hundred'.

What is the explanation for this disagreement among the ancient sources? Perhaps the existence of two very different traditions: the first was aimed at a select public, such as readers of the exiled Thucydides or, in the case of *The Athenian Constitution*, members of the Lyceum; the second was aimed at the Athenian people as a whole, assembled either in the theatre or else in the lawcourts.[18] It was in the latter, democratic version disseminated by Aristophanes and Lysias that Phrynichus became public enemy number one, following a process of characterisation that was typical of the way that the collective memory functioned.[19] Far from it operating randomly, this focussing upon Phrynichus was prompted by his tragic end, which tended to assimilate him to the tyrant Hipparchus (Thucydides, 8.92.2):

> but finally Phrynichus, after his return from his mission to Lacedaemon, was stabbed in the open Agora as a result of a plot by a man of the frontier-patrol, and before he had gone far from the Council Chamber suddenly died. The assassin escaped, while his accomplice, an Argive fellow, was seized and put to the torture by the Four Hundred, but did not reveal the name of anyone who instigated the deed nor anything else [. . .].

The parallel with the murder of Hipparchus is crystal clear.[20] In the first place, the location of the murder is identical: it happened on the Agora, less than a hundred yards from the Leocoreion where Pisistratus' son was killed. Secondly, the mode of action is comparable: Phrynichus was attacked by two men, one of whom may have been a *peripolos*; that is to say, an ephebe from more or less the same age-group as Harmodius[21]; and, lastly, what ensued from the murder was to some extent comparable: the young man's accomplice was captured and tortured just as Aristogiton had been interrogated on the orders of Hippias.[22]

It was therefore not at all surprising that the Athenians identified Phrynichus as a new Hipparchus almost one hundred years after the collapse of tyranny, in accordance with a synchronism that is duly noted by Thucydides (8.68.4). Furthermore, Phrynichus, like the Pisistratids, became the object of a veritable *damnatio memoriae*: following a posthumous trial, his bones were even exhumed and cast out of the territory of Attica (Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates*, 112–115); and, according to a scholium to Aristophanes that also mentions a defamatory inscription that targeted him, his home was razed to the ground.[23] In order to preserve the memory of his dishonour, the Athenians passed decrees about which we unfortunately know virtually nothing[24] except that they may have been exhibited not far from 'the stele commemorating the wrong-doing of the tyrants'.[25]

Conversely, the two assassins were commemorated as worthy emulators of Harmodius and Aristogiton.[26] True, they were not commemorated by statues; nevertheless, according to Plutarch, they were heaped with honours (*Alcibiades*, 25.10):

> When Hermon, one of the frontier guards [*peripolos*], had smitten Phrynichus with a dagger and slain him in the open market-place, the Athenians tried the case of the dead man, found him guilty of treachery, and awarded crowns to Hermon and his accomplices.

Even if Plutarch is mistaken about the assassin's name (for the ancient orators all ascribe the credit for the assassination to Thrasybulus of Calydon and Apollodorus of Megara[27]), his evidence is basically corroborated by an honorific inscription found on the Acropolis. In the spring of 409, the Athenians passed a decree honouring a number of metics who had been involved in the resistance to the Four Hundred, and in it they picked out in particular Thrasybulus of Calydon.[28] He was granted the rights of citizenship and also awarded a golden crown that was presented to him at the Dionysia. It may well have been because he had played a part in the assassination of the tyrant that he was awarded such great honours.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that in all this story there is no explicit reference to the tyrannicides, so should we question any such parallel and regard the incident purely as a coincidence? I think that would be mistaken, for the political context left little room for doubt and rendered the allusion transparent. Indeed, in that same year, the Athenians passed another decree that allotted an exceptional position to the two liberators.

THE DECREE OF DEMOPHANTUS: TYRANNICIDES ONE AND ALL!

In July/August 410, the people passed a decree introduced by Demophantus, according to which all Athenians solemnly undertook to defend the restored democracy. Andocides catches the tone of it in his (400/399) speech *On Mysteries* (§96–98):

> [LAW] It was resolved by the Council and the Assembly; the Aiantis tribe were Prytaneis; Cleigenes was secretary; Boethus was chairman; Demophantus drew up the following proposal: [. . .]
>
> If anyone subverts the democracy at Athens or holds any office when the democracy has been subverted, he shall be regarded as an enemy of the Athenians [*polemios Athēnaiōn*] and may be killed with impunity, and his property shall be confiscated and a tenth part of it devoted to the Goddess; and he who kills or helps to plan the killing of anyone who does that shall be pure and free from guilt [*hosios*. . . *kai euagēs*]. All Athenians shall swear over unblemished sacrifices by tribes and by demes to kill anyone who does that. The oath shall be as follows: 'I shall kill, by word and deed, by vote and by my own hand, if I can, anyone who subverts the democracy at Athens, and anyone who holds any office after the democracy has been subverted, and anyone who sets himself up to be tyrant or helps to set up the tyrant. If anyone kills him, I shall consider that man pure [*hosion*] in the sight of gods and divinities, because he has killed an enemy of the Athenians [*polemion tōn Athēnaiōn*] [. . .]. If anyone dies while killing or attempting to kill any such man, I will reward [*eu poiēsō*] both him and his children, just as Harmodius and Aristogiton and their descendants [. . .].' All Athenians shall swear this oath over unblemished sacrifices in the customary manner before the Dionysia [*pro Dionusiōn*] [. . .].[29]

Most probably the oath was sworn just before the Great Dionysia of 409, in the month of Elaphebolion (late March), at a time when it was possible for the greatest number of Athenians to be present. As Julia Shear has suggested,[30] the scene may have unfolded on the Agora, a site particularly suitable for such a ceremony. It was there that citizens were accustomed to gather by tribes (to vote on ostracism or for enrolment in the army), and it was also there that the *lithos* was positioned—the sacred stone upon which the Archons, standing before the Stoa Basileios, swore to defend the city laws.[31]

Through its grandeur, this ritual aimed to re-establish the unity of the civic body, which had been impaired by the *stasis* of 411, and at the same time to involve every citizen in the preservation of democracy. For the swearing of the oath of Demophantus was a ceremony at once collective and individual. It was collective in that all the Athenians gathered on the Agora had to pronounce the same words in the same place; and it was also individual in that each of those swearing the oath promised, in his own name, to protect the regime in the event of tyranny's ever reappearing. At the end of the ceremony, the city declared itself to be one solid block, the cohesion of which rested upon the exclusion of any future tyrant, who was assimilated to a traitor and an enemy (*polemios*) to be excluded from the community.[32]

Down with tyrants! The aim of the ritual was definitively to turn all the citizens into potential tyrannicides, as is attested by the oath's explicit invocation of Harmodius and Aristogiton. The reference carried all the more weight in that the ceremony probably took place in close proximity to the statuary group. So it was not only in the sight of the gods but also under the patronage of the two liberators—possibly crowned for the occasion—that the citizens swore to kill all tyrants.

The oath of Demophantus certainly became part of a deeply seated tradition: throughout close on a century, before every assembly of the people, a herald cursed 'anyone who contemplates either becoming a tyrant or abetting a tyrant's installation',[33] and, before taking up their duties, the juries of Athenian courts solemnly swore to block the way to all tyranny.[34] In *The Women at the Thesmophoria*, a play put on in 411, not long before the oligarchs seized power, Aristophanes poured derision upon this custom, which he regarded as simply a relic of a bygone age, as if a return of Hippias could still happen a whole century after his exile.[35] But with the reappearance of an oligarchic revolution, that diffuse anxiety was brutally reactivated and now found a new means of expression: it was no longer simply an anonymous curse laid on the despots of the past, but now took the form of a personal commitment on the part of all citizens to block the advent of would-be future tyrants.

The Athenians perpetuated the memory of that oath by having the decree engraved and exhibited in front of the former Bouleuterion.[36] At a time when the Agora still housed very few inscriptions,[37] this decision was certainly not a random one. It made it possible to bring together two disjointed fragments of a civic memory by completing a double operation. First, through an implicit connection, the passer-by was invited to recall the murder of Phrynichus, which had taken place at the precise spot where the stele now stood; the word 'tyrant' did not even need to be pronounced. Next, establishing an explicit connection, the reader of the stele was led to invoke the names of the two tyrannicides aloud, as the writing in continuous script (without word-breaks or punctuation) compelled him to do—and in doing so, he was encouraged to lift his eyes to the statues, whose silhouettes could be seen on the horizon[38]; the sight of them reinforced the words, linking the two in a reciprocal move.

EURIPIDES' *ORESTES*: A DISCORDANT VOICE IN THE CITY

This solemn vow to kill any tyrant must have provoked a number of reactions within the city, for, after all, it constituted a justification of the murder of a fellow-citizen, and the assassin was exonerated in advance, being declared 'pure [*hosion*] in the sight of the gods and divinities' (Andocides, *On the Mysteries*, 1.97). It is possible to gauge the support of such reactions from Euripides' *Orestes*, which was performed in the Dionysia of 408 B.C., exactly one year after the Athenians had sworn the oath of Demophantus.[39]

The entire play questions the justification of a tyrannicide. Orestes is presented as a murderer abandoned by the gods and locked within a terrible act that he committed with Pylades' cooperation.[40] Far from heaping praises upon the pair of them, the poet likens the two accomplices to *hetairoi* caught in an endless spiral of violence.[41] Not content with having slaughtered Clytemnestra, his own mother, Orestes, along with Pylades, plots the death of Helen, his aunt, and plans to hold as hostage Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus and his own cousin. These two 'tyrannicides' are thus presented as trouble-makers, members of a *hetaireia* that unleashes warfare within both the family and the city.[42]

For one cannot kill a relative with impunity, even if the victim is a bloodthirsty despot. As Euripides has Tyndareus declare (*Orestes*, 491–506), vengeance tends to assimilate an assassin to his victim, the tyrannicide to the tyrant, and Orestes to Clytemnestra:

> *Tyndareus*: It's this man who's on trial for folly: if good and bad are manifest to all, what man has ever shown himself more foolish than he has, seeing that he did not consider justice or have recourse to the common law of the Greeks? When Agamemnon breathed his last, struck on the head by my daughter (a most disgraceful deed which I shall never condone), then he ought as prosecutor to have imposed a murder penalty consistent with piety and expelled his mother from the house. Instead of disaster he would have won praise for moderation, and he would have stuck close to the law and been god-fearing [*eusebēs*]. But as it is, his lot proved to be the same as his mother's. He rightly considered her to be wicked, yet he showed himself more wicked than she was by committing matricide.

There is nothing pious or pure about the vengeful action of Orestes. Of course, in this tirade, we should heed the voice of a grieving father mourning his daughter. However, at a deeper level, the speech expresses a rejection of all forms of intestinal warfare, both within a family and within a city.[43] To shed the blood of other citizens, even seditious ones, was in effect to risk tearing apart the Athenian community (considered here as a fraternity), and thereby increasing the *stasis* within it.[44] Tyrants and tyrannicides were thus both sent packing, into a world that was fragmented, disoriented, and directionless.

With all due respect to Euripides, in the city such a disenchanted reaction by no means prevailed. After the collapse of the Four Hundred and with a war against Sparta to fight, the Athenians badly needed to reconstruct their unity by ascribing their misfortune to a loathed tyrant. That is how it was that Phrynichus was identified as a new Hipparchus, while the citizens committed themselves, as one, to take as their models Harmodius and Aristogiton should there be any return to tyranny.

However, the fact remains that the statuary group itself played only a subsidiary part in the oath that the Athenians swore with great pomp on 409, and it was not mentioned at all by Euripides in his play. Reading between the lines, in an attempt to understand what happened to the tyrannicides' statues following the upheaval of 411, perhaps we should look elsewhere and tentatively risk playing the analogy card. By so doing, we may hope to understand how it was that the monument was at first abused by the oligarchs—the very ones who, in 415, had without compunction mutilated the Herms and many other statues (Thucydides, 6.27.3),[45] but then became the object of a renewed deference on the part of the democrats.

After 411: The Ups and Downs of the Tyrannicide Philites of Erythrae

In Erythrae, situated in Ionia, opposite Chios, we know of the chequered history of a statue that shares certain of the features of the Athenian statuary group.[46] As a tyrannicide, a certain Philites secured the right to have his statue erected in the city's Agora, probably at the very end of the fourth century.[47] However, following a regime change, the incoming oligarchs took against this effigy and removed the sword that it held in its hand. When democracy was re-established—around the mid–third century B.C.—the Erythraeans decided to restore the mutilated statue to its former state:

> It was resolved by the council and the *dēmos*. Zoilos the son of Chiades proposed: since the members of the oligarchy took away the sword from the statue, which was an image of Philites the tyrannicide statue-fied [*tēs eikonos tēs Philitou tou apokteinantōs ton turannon tou andriantos exeilon to xiphos*], thinking that the position of the statue was a protest against themselves, and in order that it be apparent that the people takes great care and remembers forever its benefactors, both living and dead, with good fortune it was resolved by the council and the *dēmos*: the current controllers [*exetastai*] are to invite bids for the work, having made specification with the municipal architect whereby it shall be completed as it was previously; and the monthly treasurer is to assist these officials. The clerks of the market are to take care that the statue will be free of verdigris [*hopōs de katharos iou estai ho andrias*] and will be crowned always at the festivals of the first of the month and at the other festivals [. . .].[48]

As the oligarchs saw it, the statue of Philites the tyrannicide possessed a disturbing power, 'thinking that the position of the statue was a protest against themselves': the threatening posture of the image encouraged passers-by to repeat Philites' exploit and to fight against all forms of oppression, while honorific decrees included a clause urging citizens to consider this benefactor as a model to follow.[49] So why, in these circumstances, had the effigy not been destroyed instead of simply disarmed? The fact was that oligarchs did not always take all that many precautions where democratic symbols were concerned: when they had seized power in Ephesus, in the 320s, they had not hesitated to demolish the tomb of Heropythes the democratic leader, who had been honoured by a cult on the Agora (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 1.17.11).[50] However, in Erythrae, the oligarchic faction no doubt decided to avoid action so radical, for fear of reviving *stasis* in the city. By contenting themselves with a limited intervention—simply removing the sword brandished by Philites—the oligarchs hoped to neutralise the seditious impact of the effigy by conferring upon it the unexceptional aspect of a statue of an athlete, like so many others that were to be seen in the agoras of Greek cities in the late fourth century.[51] Perhaps this was also—or above all—a way of pouring scorn upon the tyrannicide, who, deprived of his sword, appeared to be shaking his fist at nothing, just like the pathetic chorus-leader in the *Lysistrata*. After all, we know that poets of the Hellenistic age were not averse to freely reinterpreting the poses of certain statues that had been stripped of their original attributes, one such being the effigy of Theogenes of Thasos, a target of many malicious epigrams once it had lost the libation-bowl that it had originally held.[52]

It would, however, be mistaken to concentrate exclusively on the subversive actions of the oligarchs, forgetting how the story ended. For the decree also reflects the way in which, once democracy was reinstated, the Erythraeans restored the statue's dignity. However, although it was restored to its former state—'as it was before [*hōs proteron eichen*]'—as the text puts it), that did not mean a return to its identical former appearance. For the decision was accompanied by measures that indicated a desire to add new lustre to the statue: not only was it to be cleaned, so that the bronze was restored to its former glory, but furthermore it was to be crowned at the start of each month and during all civic festivals. In this way the decree specified the ritualised moments when all the citizens were invited to contemplate the statue. So the oligarchs' insults eventually resulted in strengthening the aura of the monument by reanimating the gaze that the citizens fixed upon it.

To attempt, on the basis of the Erythraean example, to establish 'what really happened' in Athens in 411 would of course be to be swept away by the attraction of analogy. But even if there is nothing to justify equating the two situations, the analogy nevertheless does possess a heuristic value: not only does it stimulate one's historical imagination, but it also draws attention to certain configurations and chains of actions and reactions—in this case the close link between the indignity suffered by the statue and the renewed honours later showered upon it. Seen from this point of view, the parallel with the Athenian situation is striking: after 411 and even more after 403, the statuary group became the object of increased attention during the city's greatest religious festivals. It was after the fall of the Thirty that the effigies of the tyrannicides became an important focus of ritual, particularly during the Great Panathenaea.

6}

Their Finest Hour

THE REVIVED GLORY OF THE STATUARY GROUP IN THE RESTORED DEMOCRACY (403 B.C.)

The final defeat of Athens was a long time in coming, for not until almost ten years later did the city finally capitulate. In 404, the Athenian fleet was destroyed at Aegospotami, and, after a relatively brief siege, the Athenians laid down their arms, bringing to an end almost thirty years of conflict. The Spartans occupied the city and imposed an oligarchy that soon became notable for its bloodthirsty character: all democratic institutions were suppressed, and multiple acts of extortion were committed against citizens and metics alike.[1] Barely nine months after it was set in place—the time of a gestation—that regime brought forth its own downfall: the Thirty, undermined by internal divisions, were expelled from power by the democrats, reunited around Thrasybulus, who had organised resistance from the port of Piraeus. This whole episode gradually came to be reinterpreted in terms of a tyranny: the Athenians coined the rather strange expression, 'the tyranny of the Thirty',[2] to designate that bloodthirsty oligarchic episode.

As in the case of the 411 revolution, we know nothing of how the monument of the tyrannicides fared during this trying time. The subject is mentioned, in a somewhat unexpected fashion, only in a brief anecdote related by the rhetor Hermogenes, in a late treatise dating from the second century A.D.: 'Critias takes refuge at the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton; the Athenians consider whether to have him dragged away.'[3]

The story is in all likelihood fictitious, for we know from Xenophon (*Hellenica,* 2.4.19) that Critias, the leader of the Thirty, died in a clash in Piraeus.[4] Furthermore, Hermogenes' version of what happened appears to be freely inspired by a famous precedent: Cylon's failed *coup d'état* at the end of the seventh century B.C. At the instigation of the Alcmaeonids, the Athenians had decided to massacre the Cylonians, who had taken refuge on the Acropolis as suppliants gathered round the statue (*agalma*) of Athena.[5] Hermogenes repeats that narrative schema, substituting for Athena the Tyrannicides, which, in truth, constitute very appropriate protectors for a tyrant seeking to escape from the vengeful Athenians, for the avenging effigies thus become protective statues in the same way as the vengeful Furies the Erinyes can change into the kindly Eumenides.

The fact remains that this anecdote, although fictional, certainly conveys the aura that the monument acquired within the democracy that was restored after 403. It seems that the statuary group was at this point endowed with the same powers as the statues of the gods—which were, in principle, the only ones beside which suppliants would take refuge.[6] However false the details of the story may be, it does convey the renewed interest that the effigies attracted after the collapse of the Thirty: it was a popularity that constituted a veritable peak in the life of the statuary group; its finest hour, as it were. At this point, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton acquired a new symbolic dimension and, it seems, even became the focus of new rituals.

A Symbolic Hardening: The Song of Harmodius in Between Improvisation and Imposition

It was no doubt because of a whiff of the oligarchic revolutions of 411 and 404 that a law was passed banning songs about the tyrannicides, in order to protect them from the attacks that they suffered, particularly in the course of a *symposion.*[7] But the Athenians were not content simply with defensive measures, for at such banquets they actively promoted the image that the two liberators presented, even at the risk of rather forcing the participants' manifest admiration. That, at least, is what is suggested by a short fragment from Aristophanes' *Storks* (*Pelargoi*)—a play probably presented between 400 and 390 B.C.[8] This play, known only from a few fragments (fr. 444–457 K.-A)[9], sets onstage a strange clash between singers:

> He began to sing the Tale of Admetus to the myrtle sprig, but the other forced him to sing the Harmodius song.[10]

The scene clearly represents a banquet, for it was there that one sang, grasping a branch, before passing it on to one's neighbour, who then had to take over in full flight, in a convivial kind of competition.[11] In many respects, the branch of myrtle performed the same function as the Homeric *skēptron* or the crown that orators placed on their heads before addressing the assembly[12]: here the myrtle branch sanctified the one who held it and indicated his turn to sing. No-one was then supposed to interrupt the singer, contrary to the behaviour of the boor in the *Storks*. A measure of constraint (*anagkē*) was thus introduced into this world that was, in principle, founded upon mutual agreement, good relations and shared pleasures.

Should we regard this altercation as a simple clash between a couple of drunkards unable to agree on the song to be sung[13]? In view of the weighty political context within which the play was written, that explanation seems somewhat inadequate. In the aftermath of two oligarchic revolutions, the Athenians came to regard the *symposion* as a potential refuge for seditious oligarchs.[14] Everything that took place there became suspect, even the songs that were customarily sung. Seen in this light, Admetus' song was bound to displease the democrats, as the first couplet, preserved by Athenaeus (XV, 695C) suggests:

> Grasp Admetus' Tale: my friend [*ō hetaire*], associate with brave men [*tous agathous*], but stay away from cowards [*tōn deilōn*], recognising that cowards rarely return favours [*charis*].[15]

This *skolion*, attributed to the poetess Praxilla of Sicyon, celebrated an elitist type of friendship, founded on reciprocity and mutual gratitude (*charis*). It proposed a binary view of the social world, in which the populace was regarded as an indistinct mass of cowards (*deiloi*), incapable of recognising the superiority of their betters (*agathoi*).[16] Such a prejudiced performance was bound to shock the Athenian people, particularly as the text was potentially polemical: the singer addressed a companion (*ō hetaire*), inviting him to embrace an exclusive kind of sociability between like-minded people. The text thus needed no manipulation for it to be seen as an indirect proposal to form a group of *hetairoi*—the kind of oligarchic *hetaireiai* that had left such terrible memories in the minds of Athenians.

Admetus' *skolion* could even be regarded as an oblique glorification of tyranny,[17] for in the version that circulated in Athens, the story of Admetus was confused with one about a tyrant at bay: in Euripides' *Alcestis*, the Thessalian king went as far as to sacrifice his wife in order to save his own life.[18] In the imaginary world of the Athenians, 'Thessaly' had spelled tyranny ever since the Pisistratids had established close ties with the leading dynasts, and Critias had lived there for many years.[19]

On the ideological level, the song of Admetus was thus opposed to that of Harmodius, term by term. While the former celebrated a restricted sociability on the model of oligarchic *hetaireiai*, the latter exalted the common struggle of the tyrannicides to institute *isonomia* among all the Athenians without exception. Better still, while Admetus' song had a tyrant speak, one who was trying by every means to prolong his reign, Harmodius' song glorified a young man ready to die in the flower of his youth in order to bring to an end the reign of the Pisistratids.

In view of all this, the passage from *Storks* appears in a new light. The scene presented by Aristophanes was ambiguous and could be read in two different ways: negatively from the point of view of the banqueters, who were bound to deplore this gross transgression of *symposion* rules; but positively in the eyes of most Athenians, who no doubt did not take amiss the rejection of a song which, if it did not exactly favour tyrants, at least expressed strongly oligarchic sympathies. For, in the aftermath of 404, even drinking songs became charged with political messages. It was at this point that the *skolion* of Harmodius switched from being simply a playful amusement into a kind of patriotic hymn that was sung on the occasion of the Panathenaea in conjunction with a celebration devoted to the men of Phyle, the ones who had restored democracy in 403.[20] That, at least, is the hypothesis that I now propose to examine.

A Ritual Renewal: The Sacred Tyrannicides

Like Phrynichus' assassins,[21] the men of Phyle were praised to the skies following the restoration of democracy. In 403/402, the people passed a long decree that granted them an olive-leaf crown and gifts of silver to make it possible for them to make sacrifices and offerings in their own name (fig. 6.1). We are fortunate enough to possess several fragments of this long inscription (*SEG* XXVIII, 45),

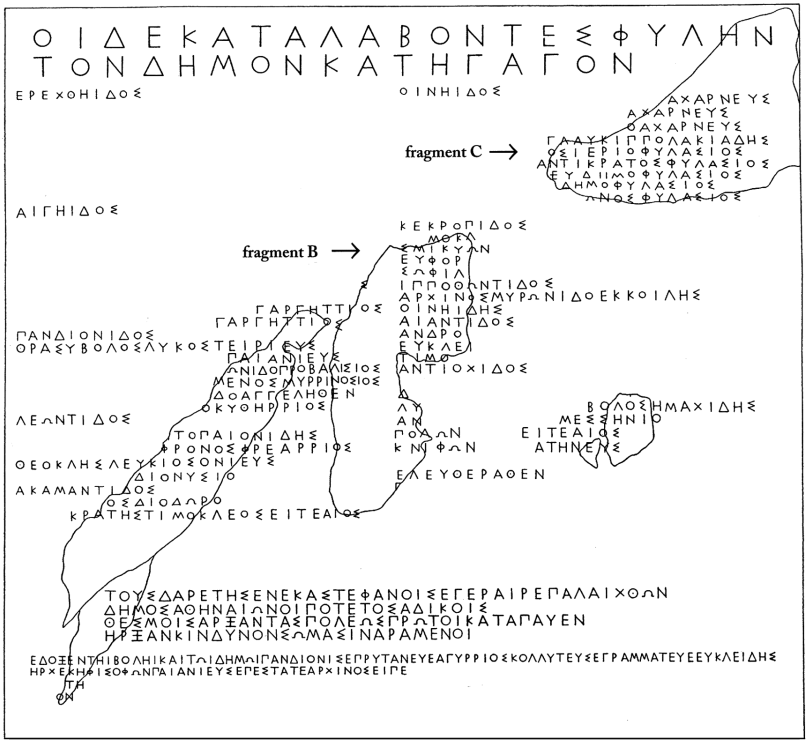
ΟΙΔΕΚΑΤΑΛΛΑΒΟΝΤΕΣΦΥΛΗΝ
ΤΟΝΔΗΜΟΝΚΑΤΗΓΑΓΟΝ
ΕΡΕΧΘΗΙΔΟΣ
ΟΙΝΗΙΔΟΣ
fragment C
ΑΙΓΗΙΔΟΣ
ΚΕΚΡΟΠΙΔΟΣ
fragment B
ΠΑΝΔΙΟΝΙΔΟΣ
ΙΠΠΟΘΟΝΤΙΔΟΣ
ΑΙΑΝΤΙΔΟΣ
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΔΟΣ
ΛΕΟΝΤΙΔΟΣ
ΑΚΑΜΑΝΤΙΔΟΣ

FIGURE 6.1 Honours for the Athenians of Phyle.

SEG XXVIII, 45 (403 B.C.). From Shear (2011) 233.

on which are engraved not only the decree itself but also a list and an epigram in honour of the city's liberators. Positioned just in front of the Bouleuterion,[22] this stele could be read right alongside the decree of Demophantus, which was placed just beside it. In honouring the Phyle heroes, the Athenians were simply respecting the vow solemnly sworn in 409, in which they had committed themselves to displaying their gratitude to those who would dare in the future to oppose all tyrants, 'just as for Harmodius and Aristogiton and their descendants' (Andocides, *On the Mysteries*, 1.98).

Significantly enough, the epigram set the action of the men of Phyle in a distant past, as if their exploit went back to earliest antiquity rather than to barely one year previously. The poem, which is hardly legible on the stele, is cited in full by Aeschines in *Against Ctesiphon* (§190):

> Because of their bravery the ancient people of Athens [*palaichthōn dēmos Athēnaiōn*] have bestowed [*egeraire*] crowns upon these men who once upon a time checked for the first time those men who ruled the city with unjust laws [*adikois thesmois*], putting their own lives at risk.

What should we make of the would-be archaic craftsmanship of this poem, which is indicated by the use of the Homeric verb *gerairein* and the ancient term *thesmos*[23]? While such obsolete turns of phrase owe much to the codified genre of the epigram, they also make it possible to make a connection between the men of Phyle and the time of the city's origins: the time of the earliest Athenians who were born from the very soil of Attica (*palaichthōn dēmos Athēnaiōn*): the heroes of the moment could in this way smoothly rub shoulders with the liberators of past ages, in particular the two tyrannicides.

SONGS OF LIBERATION: A NEW HYMN FOR THE PANATHENAEA?

If we ascribe at least a degree of credit to the late evidence offered by Philostratus in the third century A.D., the establishment of that link is more than a hypothesis. The sophist celebrates the spirit of resistance that had inspired Apollonius of Tyana, who toured the provinces in a bid to persuade his contemporaries to oppose the tyrant-emperor Domitian (A.D. 81–96):

> He discussed with them both the Athenian Panathenaea, at which Harmodius and Aristogiton are celebrated in song, and the deed from Phyle, when the Thirty Tyrants were conquered together.[24]

So, according to the testimony of Philostratus, during the Panathenaea—the most important festival for the Athenians—songs were sung in honour of the tyrannicides and possibly also the heroes of 403.

It is tempting to link this allusion to a rarely analysed passage from a speech that Demosthenes delivered in 343 B.C., in which the orator likened the descendants of Harmodius to those of Thrasybulus, the hero of Phyle (*On the False Embassy*, 19.280):

> Well then, men of Athens, [. . .] are you going to accept that [. . .] recently that man Thrasybulus, son of Thrasybulus the democrat who led the people back from Phyle, was fined ten talents, and that the man descended from Harmodius[25] and from your greatest benefactors, to whom you have allotted by law *a share of your libations and wine-offerings [craters] at the sacrifices in all the sanctuaries* [*en hapasi tois hierois epi tais thusiais spondōn kai kratērōn koinōnous pepoiēsthe*] because of the benefits which they initiated for you, and *whom you exalt in song and honour on a par with the heroes and gods* [*kai aidete kai timat' ex isou tois hērōsi kai tois theois*]—that all these men have been punished according to law, and no sympathy or pity or weeping children named after the benefactors or anything else has been any use to them?[26]

In this tirade, Demosthenes provides the earliest evidence of rituals introduced to honour the tyrannicides: on one hand, the two liberators were systematically associated with libations and offerings of wine (in the guise of mixing-bowls[27]), in the course of sacrifices made in the sanctuaries of Attica. On the other hand, they were hymned and honoured on a par 'with the heroes and gods'—which, as Robert Parker points out, implies that they were not the subjects of any regular heroic cult.[28]

It is clearly impossible, on the basis of this piece of evidence alone, to prove that the Athenians honoured the tyrannicides along with the Phyle heroes. Demosthenes is content simply to mention both Thrasybulus and Harmodius without explicitly establishing any connection between the two. However, the orator does at least confirm the existence of ritual songs in honour of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which, if we follow Philostratus, were sung on the occasion of the Panathenaea. That framework would at any rate have been most appropriate, given that it was during this festival that the murder of Hipparchus took place (Thucydides, 6.57).

So what song might the Athenians have struck up on this occasion? Although the ancient sources are silent on this matter, we may risk a hypothesis, even though, given the state of the documentation, it remains impossible to prove. There was already a song that could be used that had emerged from the *symposion* world and that had been adjusted after 403 to suit the taste of the day: namely, the *skolion* of Harmodius. Although there is no irrefutable proof to be found, the very text seems to me to support such a conjecture. The second couplet likened Harmodius to the Homeric heroes Achilles and Diomedes, who dwelt in the Elysian Fields, and the following couplet actually referred to the Panathenaea by name (Athenaeus, 15.694F).

> I will bear my sword in a myrtle branch,
> like Harmodius and Aristogiton,

> when at a sacrifice in honour of Athena [*hot' Athēnaiēs en thusiais*]
> the two of them killed the tyrant.[29]

Such heroic echoes may well have favoured a reuse of the song on the occasion of the greatest Athenian festival, following the Tyranny of the Thirty. If so, this would constitute a fine example of a song that was put to a variety of uses, for sometimes it was a *skolion* sung among friends, at other times a ritual hymn sung by all the Athenians together.

Now let us venture one more hypothesis: Why not assume that these songs—whatever their nature—would ring out in the vicinity of the Tyrannicides' group? The procession in any case passed in front of the monument, along the Panathenaic route, so it would have been a fine opportunity. Pure speculation? Not altogether. In the first place, we know that the grand Panathenaic *pompē* made a detour in order to halt on the Agora, where various rites took place[30]; furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that after 403 the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton became the object of renewed attention on the occasion of the Panathenaea. For further proof, we must leave the world of song and return to that of images.[31]

IMAGES OF LIBERATION (I): THE PANATHENAIC AMPHORAS

Iconography relating to the Tyrannicides experienced a remarkable resurgence following the tyranny of the Thirty.[32] At this time, several Panathenaic amphoras were decorated with representations of the statuary group that was positioned on the shield of the goddess Athena (figs. 6.2a and 6.2b) [33]. To understand the reasons for such a choice, let us start by recalling a number of factors.

Panathenaic amphoras were prizes designed to be awarded to the winners of competitions held in honour of Athena. The champion athletes and riders each received in total as many as 140 amphoras that, in total, held close on 5,600 litres! Quite apart from their number, those containers possessed a huge symbolic value, for they contained oil pressed from the city's sacred olive trees that were offshoots of the primordial tree presented by Athena in the earliest days of the city.[34] In all probability, the amphoras were produced within the framework of an official order placed with Athenian potters and supervised by a magistrate—the eponymous Archon?—who had been appointed to supervise the production of roughly 1,400 pots every four years.[35]

The fact that their iconography was extremely conventional is, in this context, not at all surprising. As François Lissarrague points out, their typology

> was fixed in advance with regard to the shape (very ovoid), the technique (black-figure) and also to the iconographic themes: the athletic competition on the reverse side and the goddess as *promachos* [who fights in the forefront] in front, in between two columns. Within this relatively stereotyped pattern, the motif on the goddess' shield might vary.[36]

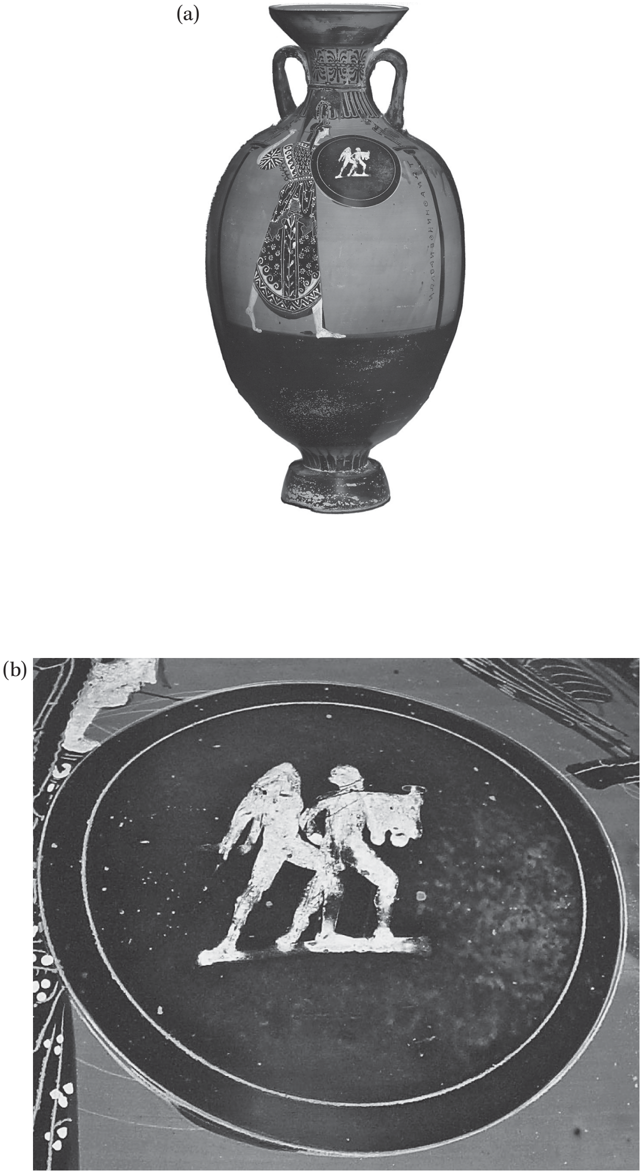

FIGURE 6.2A (GENERAL VIEW) AND FIGURE 6.2B (DETAIL).

Panathenaic amphora (402 B.C.?). London, British Museum, B 605 (= *ABV* 411.4, *Add*^{2} 107), attributed to the Kuban group.

It is precisely on Athena's shield that, in three instances, the Tyrannicides' group is honoured.

The effigies are not reproduced in a realistic fashion but in a stylised manner that accentuates their most striking features—in particular the blow dealt by Harmodius, the scabbard grasped by Aristogiton and the material draped over the latter's arm. Nevertheless, the reference to the statues is clear, as is attested by the base that the painter has carefully represented on the amphora now housed in the British Museum. This is a remarkable innovation: it is the first time that, on Athenian vases, the group as such is represented rather than evoked more or less indirectly, as had earlier been the custom.[37]

How should we interpret this reference to the statuary group? One can, of course, detect a practical reason for it: within the framework of conventional iconography, the images adorning the goddess's shield made it easy to identify the painters and potters who were commissioned to produce such amphoras in their hundreds. However, that does not explain why the artist, certainly guided in his choice by the magistrate responsible for the order, settled on that particular motif amid all the possibilities available to him. The explanation is not technical but eminently ideological: the reference to the statuary group made it possible to convey a coherent message; namely, that Athena 'took on the defence of the city through the intermediary of the heroes who had once defended her'.[38] It was definitely a matter of celebrating a double victory: that of the Athenians over tyranny and, of course, that of the athlete over his competitors.

It is, in fact, by reason of this heavy symbolism that most scholars today date these amphoras to the years following the downfall of the Thirty, to the very end of the fifth century.[39] The pots must have been produced to celebrate the great Panathenaea of 402, the first to be held since the restoration of democracy[40]: it was certainly a fine opportunity to celebrate the city's new-found liberty by making use of a transparent analogy between the murder of Hipparchus and the end of the tyranny of the Thirty. In this way, the past and the recent conflicts complemented each other as if by refraction in these repetitive and supposedly 'flat' representations produced by the Athenian artists.[41] For those images reflected a number of eminently heterogeneous temporalities: firstly, the arrested and immemorial time of ritual, embodied by the always unchanging, archaising, black-figure image of Athena; secondly, the recent, tumultuous time of political discord (the murder of Hipparchus in 514 and the downfall of the Thirty one century later) which is symbolised by the Tyrannicide group used as an emblem; and, lastly, the time of the spectator whose gaze eventually brought together those discordant temporalities on the occasion of the Panathenaea of 402.

A look at the ceremonial context is what finally provides the key to interpreting these composite images that carry, not only a political meaning, but also a ritual significance. For it was surely because the Tyrannicides' monument was the object of, if not a cult, at least a particular kind of veneration at the time of the Panathenaea that it came to be represented, in mirror-images, on the prizes bestowed upon winners of the competitions that were organised on that occasion. That religious dimension would explain why, on the Hildesheim amphoras, Harmodius and Aristogiton wear crowns, whereas the Tyrannicides' statues on the Agora did not[42]: perhaps this indicates that the Athenians used to crown the effigies at the time of the Panathenaea.[43] That would certainly make sense, given that the first line of the *skolion* of Harmodius, which may have been sung on this occasion and was certainly very ambivalent, could be interpreted as follows: 'I shall carry my sword, crowned by myrtle.'[44] Understood in that sense, the song may have echoed a ritual crowning of the two statues on the occasion of Athens' main festival.

The Tyrannicides' monument could thus itself have constituted the focus for an entire ritual ceremony on the Agora of Athens. That hypothesis is by no means far-fetched, given that it is corroborated by other images produced during the same period—images that were connected with another great Athenian festival; namely, the Anthesteria.

IMAGES OF THE LIBERATION (II): THE ANTHESTERIA VASES

At the very end of the fifth century, the statuary group was reproduced on several *choes* (red-figure jugs), the most famous of which is now exhibited in Boston (fig. 6.3)[45]. The effigies of the Tyrannicides are represented in their characteristic poses, seen in profile, advancing from right to left, with Harmodius in the lead. Both statues are placed on the same base and are crowned; a stele on the extreme left marks the border of the image. The vase was found in a cenotaph within the Ceramicus cemetery and was probably painted between 404 and 394, which is when the tomb was erected.[46]

Another *chous*, preserved in the Villa Giulia,[47] bears a similar image and must certainly date from the same period (fig. 6.4): the Tyrannicides' appearance is

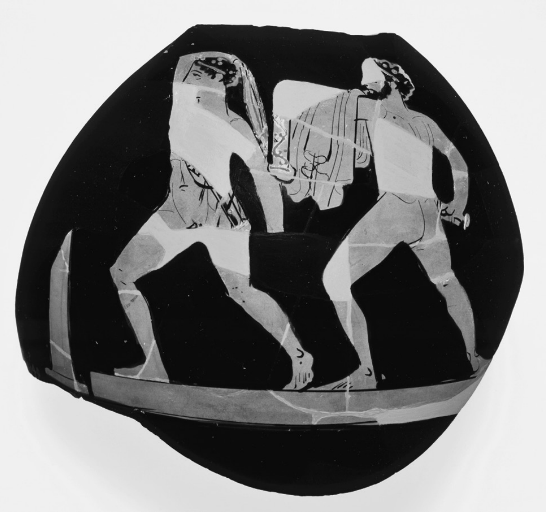

FIGURE 6.3 Red-figure *chous*, found in the Dexileus funerary enclosure in the Ceramicus (*c.* 400 B.C.). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, H. L. Pierce Fund 98.936.

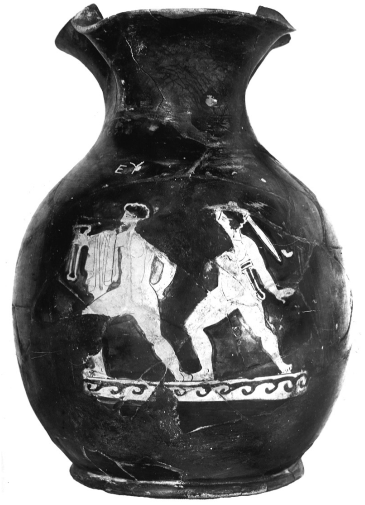

FIGURE 6.4 Red-figure *chous* (*c.* 400 B.C.).
Rome, *Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia*, inv. 44255.

similar; they are seen from the side and are proceeding in the same direction, although Aristogiton, not Harmodius, is leading. Other minor details also differ from those of the Boston *chous*: for instance, the base is at ground level, and there is no stele at the edge of the monument.

A last vase, discovered in a bad state in the Spina necropolis,[48] follows the same pattern but with more pronounced differences (fig. 6.5). The effigies face in the opposite direction: here the two Tyrannicides are moving from left to right, with Harmodius ahead, revealing their other profiles. Furthermore, the painter has chosen not to show the base of the statues, although the ornamental line that serves to frame the image may seem to stand in for it. However, he has taken care to show two stelae to the right of the effigies, as if to emphasise the monument's position on the Agora.

These *choes* played a major role in the ritual, serving as receptacles in the drinking competitions that took place on the second day of the Anthesteria, which was, precisely, the Day of the Choes.[49] This ritualised drinking bout, which was announced by the herald, took place in the sanctuary of Dionysus, at the *Limnai*, following procedures that are well known to us thanks to a passage from Aristophanes (*Acharnians*, 959–1234). At a trumpeted signal, the participants each seized a jug filled with wine that they had to swallow as quickly as possible. To guarantee equality between the competitors, the *choes* were each of a standardized shape and a controlled capacity: each contained over three litres of wine, so drunkenness was guaranteed[50]! At the end of the competition, the victor was crowned by the *archon basileus* and received a prize, probably a goatskin of wine.

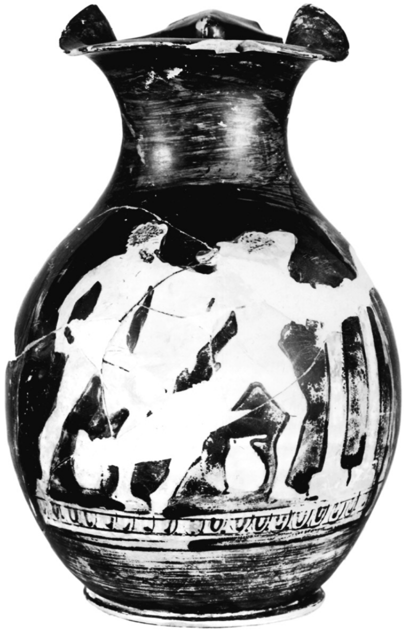

FIGURE 6.5 Red-figure *chous*, found in the necropolis of Spina (400–390 B.C.).
Ferrara, *Museo Nazionale di Spina*, [Valle Pega], no. 6406.

Did these jars display an iconography in some way linked with the festival for which they had been designed? According to Richard Hamilton, only the miniature *choes* that were presented to little three-year-old boys sometimes bore images linked with the Anthesteria.[51] But even if the images painted on the *choes* did not illustrate the festival in the manner of an ethnographic description, they nevertheless were inspired by the ceremonial activities that took place, as has been shown by Stefan Schmidt.[52]

There remains the question of why the statuary group was painted on these ceremonial pots that were probably produced under the supervision of a magistrate. The first reason is clear enough: the Tyrannicides possessed deliberate affinities with the Dionysian world at the heart of the celebration of the Anthesteria. Harmodius and Aristogiton, celebrated in song at *symposia* and portrayed on drinking pots, were obvious figures to preside over a drinking contest in honour of Dionysus.[53] However, this iconographic choice should also be linked to the tense political context of the end of the century. As in the case of the Panathenaic amphoras, the allusion was designed to celebrate the downfall of the Thirty and the restoration of democracy after 403. However, this explanation in purely political terms does not suffice to exhaust the subject and might even obscure another essential aspect; namely, the ritual dimension to these images.

Their religious background is often neglected by commentators, even though it is suggested by two items of evidence. In the first place, on these *choes*, the statues wear crowns, the ceremonial significance of which has already been noted. One of the images in particular seems to allude to a rite centred on the monument. To be convinced of this, one has only to return to the *choes* discovered in the Spina necropolis a few years after the appearance of the magisterial account by Sture Brunnsåker, who, of course, was not in a position to take this into consideration.[54] Making the most of the perspective depth of the image, the painter has represented two *choes* positioned in between the statues' legs (fig. 6.5). Does this not suggest that rituals were devoted to them in the course of the Anthesteria?

It is, of course, risky to over-interpret an isolated detail that might quite well not refer to any real votive practice. That is certainly the opinion of Stefan Schmidt, according to whom the purpose of adding these *choes* to the image was simply to make manifest that the Tyrannicides were indeed an integrated element of the Athenian festive community.[55] All the same, even if one stays within the register of conjecture, this isolated representation should be set alongside the following enigmatic passage of Demosthenes, who notes the veneration manifested for the tyrannicides: 'You have allotted by law *a share of your libations and wine-offerings (mixing-bowls) at the sacrifices in all the sanctuaries* [*en hapasi tois hierois epi tais thusiais spondōn kai kratērōn koinōnous pepoiēsthe*].'[56] So both the text and the image may well refer to liquid offerings to the statuary group on the Agora on the occasion of the major Athenian religious festivals, following the model established by the *symposion*, in which one of the mixing-bowls (craters) that was consumed was traditionally consecrated to the heroes.[57]

On completion of this iconographic survey, two conclusions may be drawn. First, the visual reference to the group seems to be closely linked with one particular moment in the history of Athens. The images on both the Panathenaic amphoras and the *choes* of the Anthesteria were executed within a very short space of time, immediately following the fall of the Thirty. An evocation of these heroes of the past made it possible to celebrate covertly the liberators of the present. Second, all these pots possessed a ritual dimension by virtue of their function as prizes to be awarded to Panathenaic victors, and as drinking vessels used in the *choes* competitions, and also through their iconography, complemented by other significant attributes, such as crowns and offerings. Such an iconographic resurgence could well correspond, if not to the establishment of a cult in honour of the tyrannicides, at least to a renewed celebration of them after 403.

A 'CULT' OF LIBERATION?

Those images make it possible to re-examine in a new light the question of a postulated cult of the tyrannicides. The *doxa* on this subject is well established: most researchers assume, without any formal proof, that Harmodius and Aristogiton were the subjects of a heroic cult addressed to them at their cenotaph, close to the entrance to the Academy, and that this had been the case ever since the early fifth century.[58]

However, that is a modern hypothesis that is nowhere corroborated by the ancient sources. Not until the work of Pausanias in the second century A.D. do we find any mention of a tyrannicides' tomb, and even then there is no reference at all to any rituals performed there.[59] In truth, historians base their assertions solely on a brief mention in *The Athenian Constitution* (58.1):

> [The polemarch] [. . .] arranges the funeral games and performs destruction sacrifices [*enagismata*] for the war dead and for Harmodius and Aristogiton.[60]

As some commentators see it, that sentence gives rise to an implicit syllogism. Those sacrifices (*enagismata*) prove the existence of a heroic cult in honour of the tyrannicides; and rituals of this kind generally took place at a hero's tomb[61]; so the cult of the two liberators took place at their cenotaph. But the premise for this reasoning is false, since the *enagismata* did not, strictly speaking, imply the existence of any heroic cult.[62]

However, there is another argument that might be used to support this fragile supposition. In the extract from *The Athenian Constitution*, the tyrannicides are partially assimilated to soldiers who died for their country, a significant connection that is also established by Hyperides in his *Funeral Oration* (6.39), where he imagines a meeting in Hades between the tyrannicides and Leosthenes, the *stratēgos* in command of the Athenian troops in the Lamian War of 323/322 B.C.[63]. Athenians who died in warfare were honoured every year, in the Ceramicus; so the tyrannicides might have benefited from the same treatment at their cenotaph, which was situated nearby.[64] That would, furthermore, have been consistent on a ritual level, in that *enagismata* were linked with those who died in warfare and with the warrior function generally.[65] The tyrannicides' tomb would have been an obvious place for such sacrifices.

However, that hypothesis does not exclude the possibility that the statues in the Agora were likewise a centre for certain specific rituals.[66] For, when seen from a particular angle, the monument certainly had a heroic appearance.[67] Not only did the dedicatory distich emphasise the dazzling gleam of the statues, as if these were indeed precious religious effigies (*agalmata*),[68] but furthermore, the very positioning of the group conferred upon it a discreet religious aura: the Agora resembled a sacred space, enclosed in the same way as a *temenos*, and the statues stood alongside a sanctuary, the Leocoreion, dedicated to the daughters of the Athenian king Leos.[69] The spatial connection was all the more significant given that the two monuments shared a common symbolism: while the enclosure was dedicated to girls who were sacrificed in order to save the whole community, the statues of the Tyrannicides commemorated men who had sacrificed themselves in order to liberate their country.

There is nothing surprising about the fact that human effigies could in this way polarise the religious fervour of the community. We know of several cases in the Greek world in which it is a hero's statue, not his tomb, that attracts the veneration of citizens and strangers alike: in Thasos, the effigy of Theogenes had, probably ever since the end of the fifth century, been central to a cult,[70] and in Athens itself, on the Agora, statues of the Eponymous Heroes were honoured 'as much as the gods' and received one-fiftieth of certain sacrifices.[71]

In light of all this, how should we picture the interconnection, at a ritual level, between the tomb of the tyrannicides in the Ceramicus and the statuary group on the Agora? The answer can perhaps be found in Pausanias, who, in his book on Achaia (Pausanias, 7.17.13–14), draws an enlightening parallel:

> In the territory of Dyme is also the grave [*taphos*] of Oebotas the runner [. . .]. It is still today a custom for the Achaeans who are going to compete at Olympia to perform a destruction sacrifice [*enagizein*] to Oebotas and, if they are successful, to place a wreath on the statue of Oebotas at Olympia [*en Olumpia stephanoun tou Oibōta tēn eikona*].

This exceptional case makes it possible to understand how two distinct kinds of ritual acts in honour of the same individual could be combined: on one hand, funerary sacrifices (*enagismata*) at the tomb of Oibotas in his native city, Dyme, in Achaia; on the other, a ritual crowning of his statue in the Altis, at Olympia. Such a division of tasks might likewise apply to the tyrannicides, in Athens. It is not hard to imagine, on one hand, funerary sacrifices being made at their cenotaph, in the Ceramicus, and, on the other, songs, crowns, and libations being offered to their effigies on the Agora, at the time of the great Athenian festivals.

One delicate question remains. At what point was this ritual procedure set in place? Most specialists favour an early dating, in the period of Cleisthenes. According to Michael Taylor, the cult may even have been established as early as 510, in the wake of the downfall of Hippias, when the city was experimenting with a kind of refoundation. Within a tense political context, Harmodius and Aristogiton might have embodied figures that transcended all factions and so could reunite the Athenians afflicted by *stasis.*[72] Claudia Gafforini, however, favours a later dating, to the time of the Persian Wars. Her argument is based on the famous speech delivered by Miltiades before Marathon, in which he urged the polemarch, Callimachus of Aphidna, to emulate the bravery of the tyrannicides (Herodotus, 6.109.3)[73]. However, that passage of Herodotus is open to two symmetrical interpretations. Was it because the polemarch was already responsible for sacrifices addressed to the two 'liberators' that Miltiades decided to harangue him in this way, or was it only *a posteriori* and in order to pay homage to Callimachus' heroic death in the battle that the polemarch received this exceptional honour?[74] Whatever solution is favoured, the argument remains weak, given that Herodotus breathes not a word about any cult addressed to the two liberators.

While all the suggested datings appear possible, none can be proved. For the ancient sources are stubborn: the earliest mentions of a ritual to honour Harmodius and Aristogiton do not appear until the mid–fourth century, first of all in Demosthenes' speech *On the Embassy,* in 343 B.C., then in *The Athenian Constitution*, which was probably written about ten years later.[75] On the basis of this knowledge, some scholars have even suggested that the cult of the tyrannicides was not established until after the oligarchic revolutions of the late fifth century.[76]

Although, given the state of the documentation, it is impossible to settle this question, we can at least agree on one fact—namely, that the statuary group became the object of revived devotion following the tyranny of the Thirty. It was at this point that Harmodius and Aristogiton were celebrated at the Panathenaea, as were the Phyle liberators, and this came about within the context of an extreme politicisation of the great Athenian festival[77]: it was also at this point that the monument was reproduced on ceremonial vases employing an iconography that stressed their religious aura. From this point of view, it is easier to understand how it was that certain late sources represented the effigies as a place of asylum for suppliants, just as if they functioned as a sacred altar[78]; it was probably at this point that their role as protector-heroes (*alexikakoi*) of democracy was reformalised.

This political and ritual fashion prompted, in response, a return of certain acerbic reactions, traces of which are to be found in Aristophanes, Thucydides, and Pseudo-Plato, all of whom, more or less covertly, criticized the two liberators and the veneration that they inspired.

Elitist Counter-Attacks: The Accursed Tyrannicides

In *The Assemblywomen,* staged probably in 392–391 B.C., the poet turns the statues into ridiculous fetishes of the restored democracy. Let us recap the plot of the play: the women seize power in the city and make goods, women, and foodstuffs all communal, thereby turning the town into a single *oikos* (v. 674). In this topsy-turvy world, the courts (*ta dikastēria*) and stoas are all converted into gigantic 'dining halls' (*andrōnas*) in which the entire city is invited to treat itself (v. 676)[79]. The whole set-up is organised down to the smallest detail (v. 681–686):

> *Blepyrus*: And what will you do with the allotment-machines? [*ta klērōtēria*]
> *Praxagora*: I'll have them set up in the marketplace by Harmodius' Statue [*par' Harmodiōi*] and have everyone draw lots, till each one has got his letter and gone off happily to whatever dining-hall it assigns. Thus the Herald will instruct everyone with the letter R to proceed to

> dinner at the Royal Stoa; the Thetas will go to the one next to it; and the Gs to the Grain market.[80]

In this Aristophanesque Utopia, the democratic apparatus is thus employed in the service of a banquet expanded to include the entire community. This was certainly an opportunity for Aristophanes to ridicule one emblematic feature of the radical democracy; namely, the drawing of lots.[81] Praxagora converts the normal use of the *klērōtēria*: instead of serving to select the jurors to be distributed among various courts, the machines now serve simply to organise a feast to which all Athenians, without exception, are invited. As Paul Demont points out, in Aristophanes' play, 'the drawing of lots is no longer selective, but resolutely egalitarian and distributive[82]'. In targeting the *klērōtēria*, Aristophanes furthermore attacks a recent innovation about which nothing was as yet routine: those machines had only been in use at the most for a decade and so were perfect symbols for the democracy that was restored after 403 B.C.[83].

Nevertheless, these factors do not clarify the reason for the poet's situating the whole operation at the foot of the statue of Harmodius. One might be content to regard this choice merely as a topographical indication, but it is more interesting to reckon that Aristophanes was playing on the egalitarian ideals associated with the effigy. The irony here is that the young Tyrannicide is represented as presiding over an absurd drawing of lots designed merely to guarantee equality at a *symposion*, rather than to promote *isonomia* among citizens. The fact is that the banquet in the *Assemblywomen* resembles not so much the provision of a public banquet (*hestiasis*), such as those frequently organised in the city of the Classical period, but rather a *symposion* expanded to incorporate the whole community: this was a feast that featured neither a sacrifice nor a sharing-out of meat, as was customary in such circumstances, but only wine served in mixing-bowls. Even the furnishings were characteristic of a *symposion*, as, furthermore, was the sexual activity that followed the repast.[84] So Aristophanes' intention in having Harmodius' statue present was the better to depoliticise it, reducing it to being a protector of the delights of good fare and of the flesh.[85] In some respects, this playful parody testifies to a more or less incipient hostile reaction to the adulation of the tyrannicides that was renewed after 403.

In Thucydides, such animosity is far more explicit. As the reader no doubt does not need reminding, the author of the *Peloponnesian War* broke off from his work soon after 404, when the popularity of the tyrannicides was at its height. Adding his voice to the criticisms already expressed by Herodotus, he introduces an altogether personal note that besmirches the picture even further: not content with noting the counter-productive effects of the action of Harmodius and Aristogiton,[86] he radically challenges the legitimacy of the assassination itself, claiming that Hipparchus himself never did operate as a tyrant of Athens.

This ferocious attack is echoed, with an acuity of its own, in the *Hipparchus* of Pseudo-Plato, composed in the first half of the fourth century.[87] Putting his words in the mouth of Socrates, the author in effect proceeds, to the detriment of the tyrannicides, to suggest a radical rehabilitation of Hipparchus. The philosopher begins by carefully drawing a distinction between the time when Hipparchus was still alive and the three years that followed his death: during Hipparchus' lifetime, 'the Athenians lived very much as in the reign of Cronus'—that is to say, in a veritable golden age; but following Hipparchus' assassination, the city swung back into tyranny under the rule of his brother Hippias. Then 'Socrates' slyly adds (*Hipparchus*, 229B): 'You might have heard anyone of the earlier period say that it was only in those years that there was tyranny in Athens.' The implication is crystal-clear: Harmodius and Aristogiton were not true tyrannicides, since, at the moment of their attack, there simply was no tyranny to be abolished! Worse still, it was they who were responsible for the hardening of the regime for, by assassinating 'the wisest [*sophōtatos*]' of the sons of Pisistratus, they opened the way for Hippias, who now acquired sole power. In a final touch added to this rewriting of history, Socrates claims that Hipparchus was an innocent victim of the sick jealousy of Harmodius and Aristogiton (*Hipparchus*, 229C-D):

> [. . .] Harmodius had become the favourite of Aristogiton and had been educated by him [*pepaideusthai hup' ekeinou*]. Thus Aristogiton also prided himself on educating people, and he regarded Hipparchus as a dangerous rival. And at that time, it is said, Harmodius happened to be himself in love with one of the handsome and well-born youths of the day; they do tell his name, but I cannot remember it. Well, for a while this youth admired both Harmodius and Aristogiton as wise men, but afterwards, when he associated with Hipparchus, he despised them, and they were so overcome with the pain of this 'dishonouring' that they slew Hipparchus [*kai tous perialgēsantas tautēi tēi atimiai houtōs apokteinai ton Hipparchon*].

By inserting this second love-story into the tale, the philosopher takes pleasure in reversing the roles traditionally attributed to Harmodius and Hipparchus. In this reworked version, it is Harmodius who is allotted the role of the rejected lover, not Hipparchus, whose only fault is to have attracted another noble and pretty boy by his own charisma. A virtuous man, killed by two individuals who are jealous of his prestige: this description surely reflects the shadow that shrouded Socrates, for he was himself accused of having led astray handsome, young Athenians to the point of getting them to despise their former teachers.

But over and above that veiled allusion to the philosopher's death in 399, this diatribe should also be read as mirroring the increasing glorification of Harmodius and Aristogiton, following the reestablishment of democracy. For this is certainly the focal point of the renewed criticisms that were directed at the tyrannicides within the framework of the restored democracy. By suggesting that Hipparchus was by no means a tyrant filled with *hubris*, Thucydides, like the Pseudo-Plato, reduced the two liberators to the level of ordinary murderers unable to put forward any justification for their bloody deed. Reading between the lines, it was clear that both writers were suggesting that the Athenians were in fact celebrating two sinister individuals who, far from being saints worthy of veneration (*hagios*), in reality constituted a palpable defilement (*agos*) of the city.

In light of all this, it is easier to see how it was that Thucydides chose to insert his digression on the two murderers just as he was about to tackle the expedition to Sicily and its doom-laden consequences. By establishing in his account a link between the two episodes, the historian made them seem mirror-images: the murder of Hipparchus became the original sin of this over-confident democracy, incapable of moderating its behaviour, thoughtlessly committing so many over-bold actions, and eventually reeling over into impiety.[88] Seen in this light, the disastrous outcome of the Sicilian expedition appeared to be the inevitable penalty for repeated mistakes, all of which had stemmed from the unjustifiable assassination of the son of Pisistratus.[89]

There can be no doubt that the upsurge of attacks against the tyrannicides, launched by a small group of intellectuals more or less openly opposed to the democratic regime,[90] testify in reverse to the ever-increasing aura that surrounded their effigies in the fourth century. After 403, those effigies became one of the unmissable memorial sites of a city that was simultaneously abandoning itself to the mirage of the ancestral constitution (*patrios politeia*). This sacralisation was accompanied by a deep change in the meaning of the monument: Critius' and Nesiotes' statues were transformed into archetypes of the greatest honours to which benefactors of the city could aspire.

PART } II

The Age of Reason?

The Incomplete Normalisation of the Tyrannicides

Accursed as a youth, but adored in old age!
—Victor Hugo, 'Tristesse d'Olympio', *Les Rayons et les Ombres*

Following a turbulent youth, the life of the Tyrannicides settled down to a calmer rhythm. Once the embodiment of rebellion and transgression, they now acquired the aspect of model citizens and well-deserving benefactors: the agonies of youth, with its brutal swings between veneration and insults were, in a way, followed by the age of reason. From the fourth century B.C. onward, the statuary group underwent a kind of normalisation that deeply affected its reception and the uses to which it was put.

On one hand, the monument tended to become more ordinary and, so to speak, to 'fall into line'. Having for so long been unparalleled, the Tyrannicides gradually became just statues that, if not quite like any others, were at least comparable to them. At the end of the fourth century, the Athenians even allowed the Macedonian kings Antigonus the One-eyed and Demetrius Poliorcetes to have their effigies placed immediately adjacent to the statuary group, thereby ending its proud isolation; contrary to what is commonly claimed, they were, moreover, probably not the only Hellenistic sovereigns to enjoy such a privilege.

On the other hand, by 'stepping down' from their pedestal, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton made themselves less intimidating, and it became possible for them to undergo a metamorphosis and become models for all the city's benefactors to emulate. In the course of the fourth century, the monument thus became the ultimate point of reference in the Athenian honorific culture and, consequently, a powerful instrument of distinction for the city to use. Following the conquests of Alexander, the Athenians used the Tyrannicides in their attempts to establish a basis for mutual understanding and political dialogue with the great powers of the day: first the Hellenistic kings, then the representatives of Rome.

The development lastingly transformed the reception that the statuary group received both in Athens and abroad. Having lost its sulphurous aura and its most remarkable characteristics, the monument became easier for other Greeks to use and, soon, for the Romans to appropriate. In the imperial period, the group even became part of the repertory of works that élite citizens were happy to install in their villas and homes, in the form of marble or bronze copies. It would, however, be mistaken to regard this simply as a golden handshake bestowed upon the now-neutralised statues. Right down to the end of the second century A.D., the monument remained a formidable device for sparking discussion, now laudatory, now sarcastic, but never conciliatory.

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The Age of Honours

NEW MEANINGS FOR THE MONUMENT IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

Historians of the ancient Greek world have long maintained—and some do so even today—that after 403, the Athenian democracy took a more moderate turn.[1] In support of this thesis, they usually invoke an institutional argument: in the fourth century, the People's Assembly could no longer itself make changes to the laws (*nomoi*), for this now became a task entrusted to a commission of *nomothetai* (law-makers). The People's Assembly now voted only on decrees (*psēphismata*), the effect of which was more limited. However, it would be a mistake to draw radical conclusions from this legislative development. For one thing, the *nomothetai* were appointed by drawing lots from amongst the 6,000 jurymen of the *Heliaia* and so constituted a representative section of the citizen body; and secondly, their power could not be exercised without the approval of the Assembly, which alone could decide whether a revision of the legal code was necessary.

Quite to the contrary, it would seem that, far from being weakened, the democracy became more radical at the start of the fourth century. For instance, it was in the 390s that citizens were first paid for participating in the meetings of the *Ekklēsia*, and this amounted to a very heavy expense for the city budget. Even if this measure was partly intended to encourage Athenians to arrive more punctually (the *misthos* probably being awarded only to the first 6,000 to arrive[2]), its major purpose was to make it possible for the poorest citizens to take part in debates without being out of pocket on account of the loss of pay for a day's work. So it is fair enough to claim, along with Josiah Ober, that the democracy was never more complete than in the fourth century.

So how should we explain the significance of such a common idea—namely, the claim that democracy was more moderate in the fourth century? It seems to me that it stems largely from the fact that at this time the Athenians developed a new relationship with the past, the effect of which was to obscure the true nature of the regime. The fact was that, after 403, Attic orators took to regularly invoking the memory of the great law-givers of the Archaic period, Theseus, Draco, and Solon, the better to sanction politics that, in reality, had very little to do with those glorious ancestors.[3] The celebration of the *patrios politeia*, which had started out as an oligarchic slogan,[4] had soon become one of the articles of faith of the democratic regime and this had the effect of masking the political innovations that were taking place.[5]

It was amid this atmosphere that was so favourable to any exaltation of the past that the tyrannicides were hailed by the Athenians as the heroic founders of democracy: in 394, the Assembly voted to erect on the Agora statues of Conon, the *stratēgos*, and Evagoras, the King of Salamis on Cyprus, and, in so doing, it referred explicitly to the prestigious model provided by Harmodius and Aristogiton. However, under the cover of reviving an ancestral tradition, the Athenians were in reality introducing a radical innovation. The statues of Conon and Evagoras were the very first examples of a new category of civic honours that was destined to enjoy a fine future: this was the category of the honorific statue, an effigy sanctioned by the vote of a community that was grateful to a benefactor, whether a citizen or a foreigner and whether living or dead, and doing so following a formalised institutional procedure.

In order to assess how great a change this was, let us look back to the fifth century, so as to study the progressive evolution of this new statuary genre, naturally enough encountering the Tyrannicides as we do so. After this return to the past, we shall look forward to the future, the late fourth century, in order to evaluate the long-term effects that this upheaval produced for the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton. As a result of being compared to the effigies of the benefactors that, little by little, invaded the Agora of Athens, the monument acquired a uniform honorific character that tended to obscure the other meanings that had been associated with it in the past and that had made it so unique.

Following that ‘flashback’ and ‘flash-forward’, we shall finally return to the early decades of the fourth century, endeavouring to avoid any teleological perspective. In 394, nothing was inevitable: customary attitudes to the statuary group were as yet by no means rigid, and, in the very same year that Conon was honoured by the city with a statue on the Agora that was modelled on the Tyrannicides, the latter statuary group also served to glorify a dead young man, Dexileus, within a funerary and familial framework. Furthermore, it was at that point impossible to foresee the success that honorific statuary was to enjoy in the Hellenistic period: the phenomenon was still exceptional, not yet traditional. Faced with the prospect of more honorific statues, many resisted the idea, sometimes actually doing so in the name of Harmodius and Aristogiton.

The Honorific Breakpoint of 394: Conon, Evagoras, and the Tyrannicides

Barely ten years after the end of the Peloponnesian War, the *stratēgos* Conon was awarded a statue on the Agora, following his naval victory over the Spartans at Cnidus, the victory that marked the city's recovery after a decade of subordination.[6] There can be little doubt that this effigy was inspired by the prestigious model of the Tyrannicides. Demosthenes confirms this in his speech *Against Leptines* (§70), in which he explicitly associates the two monuments:

> Therefore his contemporaries not only granted him fiscal immunity [*ateleian*], but also set up his statue in bronze [*chalkēn eikona*]—the first man so honoured since Harmodius and Aristogiton. For they felt that he, too, in breaking up the empire of the Lacedaemonians, had ended no insignificant tyranny [*ou mikran turannida*].[7]

At first sight the analogy may seem daring or even somewhat forced, for, in truth, what does Harmodius' and Aristogiton's isolated attack on Hipparchus have in common with the collective victory that Conon won against the Spartans? However, the Athenians saw no objection to this. The *stratēgos* had liberated the Greeks from the Spartans' oppression just as the tyrannicides had liberated the Athenians from the tyranny of the Pisistratids[8]; and that is indeed what the honorific decree clearly indicated (*Against Leptines* 20.69): 'For indeed, he has the unique distinction of being thus mentioned in his inscription: "Whereas Conon", it runs, "freed (*ēleutherōse*) the allies of Athens".'[9]

Not only was the liberation theme mentioned in the decree voted in honour of the *stratēgos* (in a formula much copied by orators throughout the fourth century),[10] but it was also emphasised by the very position chosen for the statue: the effigy was placed in front of the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, who was both the city's saviour and the protector of its liberty.[11] The Athenians had thus established on the spatial plane a significant association between the honorific decree, the effigy of Conon, and the divine statue of Zeus; it was an association that was designed to confer upon the *stratēgos* the status of a great liberator.[12]

Over and above that immediate connection, such symbolism was effective in that it established a link with the Tyrannicides' group, the more so given that the Athenians had taken care to twin the two monuments on the visual plane. They had indeed flanked the statue of Conon with another bronze effigy, that of the Cypriot king Evagoras, thereby forming a couple that was a parallel to that of Harmodius and Aristogiton, as indeed Isocrates points out (*Evagoras* 9.56–57):

> [Following the concerted action of Conon and Evagoras] the Greeks regained their freedom [*ēleutherōthēsan*], and our city recovered in

> some measure its old-time glory and became leader of the allies [. . .]. In gratitude we honoured them with the highest honours [*tais megistais timais*] and set up their statues [*eikonas*] where stands the image [*agalma*] of Zeus the Liberator, near to it and to one another [*plēsion ekeinou te kai sphōn autōn*], a memorial both of the magnitude of their benefactions and of their mutual friendship [*tēs philias tēs pros allēlous*].

The two effigies were thus positioned very close together and, although they did not share the same base, they did undeniably form a pair. It is true that, at first sight, this pair might seem somewhat ill-matched, for it linked an Athenian *stratēgos* and a king, who, what is more, was a foreigner. However, the mismatch was not so great as it might seem, for, probably in 407 but possibly in 410 B.C., Evagoras had received honorary Athenian citizenship.[13] In a decree passed in his honour in 393, the king had even been praised as an intransigent patriot and defender of the Greeks, 'a Greek [acting] on behalf of Greece'.[14] It matters little that this was a rhetorical formula that was designed to wipe out the memory of the crucial aid provided by the Persian Great King in the victory won over the Spartans and, possibly, to dissipate all doubts regarding the 'Greekness' of Evagoras.[15] The essential point lies elsewhere: according to official Athenian pronouncements, Evagoras and Conon were jointly honoured as fierce defenders of Greek liberty.[16]

Two statues standing 'near to one another' in memory of two liberators united by close friendship (*philia*): surely this spectacle conjured up the image of Harmodius and Aristogiton.[17] Did the Athenians push the analogy far enough to represent Conon and Evagoras naked and armed, just like the two Tyrannicides? That is an attractive idea, but the lack of documentation on this score rules out any definite conclusion on the matter.[18]

Whatever the appearance of the two statues, this was no small innovation, for ever since the installation of the Tyrannicides, this great square in Athens had accepted no other statues of mortal men, whether alive or dead.[19] So this certainly represented a major break from the old system of honorific distinction that had prevailed in the fifth century.

Flashback: The Evolution of Honorific Statuary

THE EMERGENCE OF PUBLIC HONOURS FOR INDIVIDUALS

To be sure, in the fifth century, the Athenians had already accommodated on the Agora public portraits, either painted or sculpted, that commemorated the actions of Athenian *stratēgoi*. The Painted Stoa (*stoa poikilē*), built at the instigation of the brother-in-law of Cimon, the great statesman of the 470s, displayed paintings in which the latter's father, Miltiades, was favourably represented at the Battle of Marathon, fighting against the Persians.[20] As the fourth-century Attic orators note, the Athenian people had imposed a number of restrictions upon such distinctions' being accorded to an individual. In the first place, this picture of Miltiades was executed posthumously: the *stratēgos* had already been long dead by the time this stoa was built, and that fact limited the impact made by the picture.[21] Furthermore, Miltiades was not the only one to be honoured by such paintings. He was surrounded by other Athenians such as Cynegeirus, the brother of Aeschylus; and Callimachus of Aphidna, the polemarch. Finally, the people had decided that his name be not mentioned so as to identify him (Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon* 3.186) either in the painting itself or on the dedication attached to the offering.[22] So Miltiades was not singled out by any inscription, even if he did remain identifiable from his position in the picture.[23]

Despite his influence in the Athenian city, Cimon, Miltiades' son, had been obliged to accept even more severe restrictions. When he requested city honours upon his return from his victorious attacks on the Persians, it seems that the Assembly refused him any form of individualised distinction. That, at least, is what Aeschines suggests in a speech delivered over a century later, in 330 B.C.[24]:

> There were certain men in those days, fellow citizens, who endured much toil and underwent great dangers at the river Strymon, and conquered the Medes in battle [in 476/475 B.C.]. When they came home, they asked the people for a reward, and the democracy gave them great [*megalas*] honour, as it was then esteemed—permission to set up three stone Herms in the Stoa of the Herms, but *on condition that they should not inscribe their own names upon them [mē epigraphein to onoma to heautōn],* in order that *the inscription [to epigramma]* might not seem to be in honour of the generals, but of the people.[25]

In the fifth century, the Athenians had thus imposed strict limits upon the glorification of victorious *stratēgoi*: if they granted them statues, they made sure these were not in their image: the Herms were simply quadrangular pillars to represent the gods; and even if these were provided with an inscription, it never identified the *stratēgoi* by name, thereby ensuring that the role played by the *dēmos* would not be overshadowed.[26]

A representation but no inscription (Miltiades), or an inscription but no representation (Cimon), and, in all cases, anonymity: such were the terms of the compromise established in the course of the fifth century between the people and the Athenian élites, regarding the legitimate forms allowed for honorific distinction. The *dēmos* accepted certain manifestations of the celebration of individuals provided that it retained legal control over them (i.e. they had to be permitted by the Assembly) and that, visually, the representation and the inscription remained unconnected.[27]

Following the oligarchic revolutions of 411 and 404, that balance was gradually modified. In 403, the Athenians voted to grant great honours to the men of Phyle, and they had these engraved on a stele erected right in the middle of the Agora (fig.6.1)[28]: for the first time since Harmodius and Aristogiton, citizens and foreigners alike found themselves distinguished by name in the place that, *par excellence*, was associated with the life of democracy. And those inscriptions were designed to be seen by one and all: for instance, the decree of Theozotides, voted in favour of the orphans of democrats killed in 404/403, was engraved on a monumental stele nearly two metres tall.[29]

Nevertheless, such distinctions remained carefully circumscribed. For one thing, even if the names of the benefactors appeared, clearly written, the honours were granted collectively, not individually: the whole point was to celebrate an entire group, not one man in particular; secondly, those inscriptions were not accompanied by any portrait that would have singled out those to whom they referred. When Conon and Evagoras were each granted an honorific statue on the Agora, it was therefore the first time—apart from the statues by Critius and Nesiotes—that the Athenians granted a distinction that involved both a representation and an inscription, a portrait and a stele, an image and a text. The text and the image finally became complementary, for the name engraved on the base for the first time related to the sculpted portrait above it.[30]

This innovation was destined for a fine future. In 389, it was the turn of the *stratēgos* Iphicrates, following his victory over the Spartans, close to Corinth,[31] to be honoured by a bronze effigy, at the same time receiving both *sitēsis* (the right to eat every day at the Prytaneum as a guest of the city) and *proedria* (the right to occupy a special place from which to watch the festival competitions organised by the city).[32] After a number of resounding military successes, Chabrias, around 376, and Timotheus, probably a year later,[33] in their turn, each received a bronze effigy on the Agora, the latter (Conon's son) also receiving the privilege to be set, as a statue, alongside his father, thereby forming a new pair that, in its turn, also mirrored the statuary group produced by Critius and Nesiotes.[34]

THE TYRANNICIDES AND THE INVENTION OF SUPREME HONOURS

What were the reasons for such a turnaround? Perhaps, as Guillaume Biard has suggested, we should first take into account a factor external to the city and widen our perspective to include the rest of the Greek world.[35] By granting such a distinction, the Athenians were, in effect, simply falling into line with decisions that other communities had taken in the course of the previous years, carrying logic one notch further forward. In 404, the Spartan navarch Lysander had been represented by statues in Olympia, Delphi, and Ephesus.[36] After the battle of Cnidus, Conon himself had received *sitēsis, proedria*, and a gilded bronze effigy at Erythrae, as well as statues at Samos and at Ephesus.[37] So the 394 break with tradition took place against the background of an unbridled honorific competition, to which the Athenians felt bound to respond. All the same, this innovation was remarkable, for it was the first time that a citizen found himself honoured by a statue presented to him by his own native community.

The symbolic pressure exerted on Athens by honours awarded to Athenians elsewhere in the Greek world lasted throughout the fourth century. Forty years later, Demosthenes was offended by the notion that his compatriots could ban honours for Conon at a time when the latter continued to be distinguished outside his own country (*Against Leptines* 20.71):

> It was not, then, only by you Athenians that Conon was honoured for the services that I have described, but by many others, who rightly felt bound to show gratitude for the benefits they had received. And so it is to your dishonour, men of Athens, that in other cities his rewards hold good, but of your rewards alone he is to lose this part.

The first honorific statues in Athens were thus approved by vote after an inter-city competition (a fine example of 'peer polity interaction'), which subsequently, in the Hellenistic period, led to the elaboration of an honorific culture that was common to the entire Greek world.[38]

As well as that external and circumstantial factor, we should take into account the pressure of an internal evolution over a long period; namely, the progressive emergence of a category of individual honours: the highest honours (*megistai timai*). To honour citizens and foreigners, the city had at its disposal a hierarchy of honours. It might award 'routine honours' such as a public eulogy or a crown; it could also award fiscal privileges, such as *ateleia* and exemption from liturgies (obligatory military or festal contributions); or, finally, there were the supreme honours (*megistai timai*), which were reserved for services judged to be exceptional. In the fifth century, this category of extraordinary honours included only two levels: *proedria* and *sitēsis.*[39] In 399, during his trial, Socrates unrealistically put in a claim to be fed at the Prytaneum. Of all the honours awarded by the city, this was the only one that he deemed worthy to express the gratitude that Athens owed to him, given that, according to Plato (*Apology*, 36D), he thought that he had rendered the 'greatest of services' (*tēn megistēn euergesian*) to his city. From 394 onward, the allocation of a bronze statue was added to that short list. In the course of the fourth century, those three, *proedria, sitēsis,* and statue, became key elements in the honorific culture in Athens, and also in the Greek world beyond.

Ever since the pioneering research of Philippe Gauthier, the successive stages of this development have become well known.[40] What is less so is the degree to which the reorganisation of the honorific repertory was closely linked with the image of the Tyrannicides. It was the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogiton who, in the 430s, were the first to be offered *sitēsis* and probably *proedria,* too.[41] If Cleon likewise found himself awarded this great privilege, along with victors in the Panhellenic games, a few men picked by Apollo and, no doubt, the hierophant of Eleusis,[42] it was perhaps in recognition of his dazzling victory at Sphacteria in 425 B.C. as much as on account of his links by marriage with Harmodius' family.[43] But even if it is excessive to claim that the *megistai timai* were originally a family matter (the families of the two tyrannicides), the fact nevertheless remains that their presence in this early list of beneficiaries is, to put it mildly, significant.

That intimate connection was, if not theorised, at least formalised following the oligarchic revolution of 411, in a famous clause from the oath of Demophantus cited previously (Andocides, *On the Mysteries* 1.98): 'If anyone dies while killing or attempting to kill any such man, I will reward (*eu poiēsō*) both him and his children, just as Harmodius and Aristogiton and their descendants.' These potential honours were thus explicitly indexed to the privileges granted to Hipparchus' assassins and their respective descendants.[44] However, what the decree did not make clear was exactly how the Athenians proposed to express their gratitude to those courageous enough to sacrifice themselves in order to defend democracy. Without doubt, *sitēsis* and *proedria* must have figured among the rewards envisaged. But, reading between the lines, was an effigy not also promised to future emulators of Harmodius and Aristogiton[45]? The formulation of the oath was sufficiently vague to authorise such an interpretation. Let us even risk a conjecture: perhaps it was that ambiguous clause in the oath of Demophantus that, a few years later, served as a legal basis for the vote in favour of the earliest honorific statues to celebrate the 'liberators' Conon and Evagoras, who were explicitly compared to the group sculpted by Critius and Nesiotes.[46]

The erection of the first honorific statues should thus be interpreted as the final point in a long sequence that started in the 430s and revolved around the tutelary image of the Tyrannicides. At the turn of the century, the *megistai timai* were granted to all those who could claim to have 'liberated' the city by fighting against 'tyranny', the image of which was decidedly vague; and it was as 'new tyrannicides' that Conon and Evagoras were honoured by having their statues erected on the Agora.

Flash-forward: The Honorific Reinterpretation of the Tyrannicides

At the start of the fourth century, the Athenians invented a new category of rewards: that of the honorific statue, which they took care to link to a famous precedent; namely, the Tyrannicides group. However we should not be misled: this was actually an anachronistic reinterpretation designed to add a prestigious patina to a phenomenon that was, in truth, unprecedented. For, in the fifth century, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton were not conceived in the same honorific mode. The significance of the monument was by no means stabilised; and it was the context that emphasized at one point its funerary nature, at another its religious dimension, at yet another its honorific—or defamatory—force.[47]

Although fictitious, that genealogy affected the way in which the Athenians apprehended the group sculpted by Critius and Nesiotes. As honorific statuary became progressively formalised in the course of the fourth century, one sole aspect of the monument—its honorific dimension—came to eclipse all the other meanings that used to be associated with it.

HARMODIUS AND ARISTOGITON, THE COMMUNITY'S FIRST BENEFACTORS

One sign of the times was that, from the mid–fourth century onward, the Attic orators took to representing the action of the two liberators as that of veritable benefactors. Despite all their differences, Aeschines and Demosthenes were in agreement about turning Harmodius and Aristogiton into model benefactors. In his *Against Timarchus*, composed in 346/345, Aeschines chose to celebrate the two heroes as 'benefactors [*euergetai*] of the city' (§132), while Demosthenes, in his speech *On the False Embassy* (§280) similarly spoke in the same breath of 'the man descended from Harmodius and from your greatest benefactors'[48], just as if the two terms were homologous.

Admittedly, the tyrannicides were never considered as *euergetai* exactly like the others. They functioned, rather, as a yardstick against which to evaluate the merits of other benefactors. Athenian orators freely invoked their daunting example in order to discredit the honours awarded to their own political adversaries. For example, Dinarchus accused Demosthenes of having permitted a vote for a statue in favour of Demades in 335, thereby risking mixing good wheat together with chaff—in other words, true benefactors and opportunistic rascals (*Against Demosthenes* 1.101): 'Have you impeached the man [Demades] who works against the decrees and laws of the people? Never. But you permitted him to set up his bronze statue in the Agora and to take his meals in the Prytaneum along with the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogiton.'[49] What scandalised the orator was the fact that Demades would share the same table as the descendants of the tyrannicides, and that his effigy would be placed close to the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, just as if their merits were equivalent. The fact that Dinarchus' accusation was probably unjustified matters little in this case,[50] for the point is that it shows to what degree the image of the tyrannicides was already closely associated with the Athenian honorific system.

THE 'ELGIN THRONE' OR THE INTEGRATION OF THE TYRANNICIDES IN THE ATHENIAN HONOURS SYSTEM

This association between the Tyrannicides and the *megistai timai* became strengthened in the course of time and found its most eloquent expression, at the end of the fourth century or the very beginning of the third, in the 'Elgin throne'.[51] This magnificent marble seat is today preserved in the Getty Villa in Malibu. On its back are two bas-reliefs that originally were probably painted: on one side it shows the statuary group of the Tyrannicides in all its majesty[52] (figs. 7.1a and 7.1b); on the other, a Greek, generally identified as Theseus, is felling an Amazon.

The association, within the public space, of these two great emblems of Athenian democracy was not at all unusual, for Theseus had already been represented as Harmodius or Aristogiton in the Hephaesteion metopes.[53] Does this imply that nothing was new under the Attic sun? Not quite. In the fifth century, the connection between Theseus and the Tyrannicides had taken the form of an allusion or inference and had not been explicit or spelled out as it was in the case of the Elgin throne. There is unfortunately no trustworthy archaeological context to explain this evolution, and any attempt to date the Elgin throne has to be a matter of guesswork, for the scholars who venture to do so have nothing to go on except fragile stylistic and palaeographic criteria. Nevertheless, let us try to follow their reasoning: according to Jiří Frel, the figures in the bas-reliefs manifest 'a Baroque over-muscular anatomy' that puts one in mind of the Farnese Heracles based on an original by Lysippus; and this would suggest

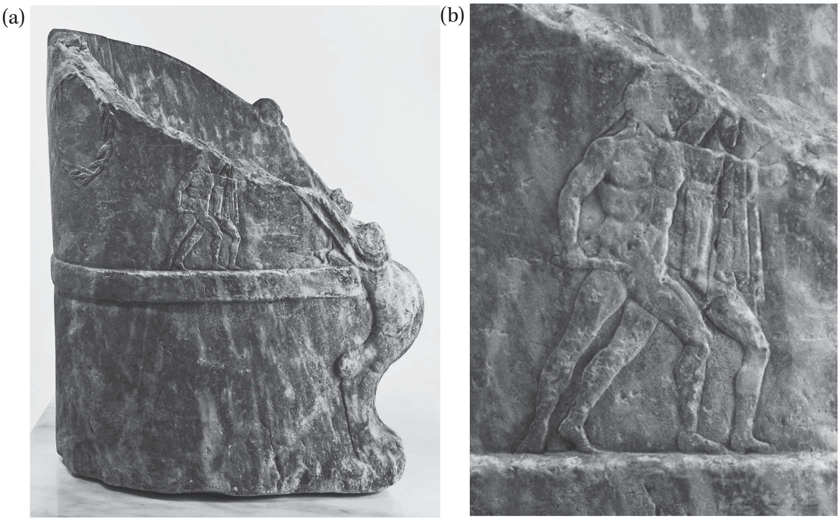

FIGURE 7.1A AND 7.1B The 'Elgin throne' (*c.* 330–280 B.C.).
The J. Paul Getty Museum, 74.AA.12.

dating them to very early in the Hellenistic period.[54] As for the fragmentary inscription situated on the upper left-hand ledge of the throne,[55] the shape of the letters could indeed well date from the same period.[56]

Upon these precarious bases, certain scholars have tried to link the construction of the throne to the intervention of the Macedonian king Demetrius Poliorcetes in Athens, between 307 and 290 B.C.[57] Without being extravagant, the conjecture nevertheless is certainly risky. As Homer Thompson points out in an unpublished study,[58] given the present state of the documentation, the most that can be hazarded is that the throne was constructed between 330 and 280.

This monument's original positioning is equally difficult to determine. At first sight, it is tempting to situate it in the theatre of Dionysus, where the presence of seats for *proedria* that are formally similar is attested.[59] However, there is nothing to provide certain proof, and some archaeologists suggest that the throne was more likely to have been positioned on the Agora, not far from the Stoa Basileios, where theatrical and sporting competitions took place on the occasions of the Panathenaea and Lenaea.[60] All these hypotheses remain fragile, particularly if we bear in mind that, immediately prior to being carried off to England by Lord Elgin, the monument was positioned close to the *Soteira Likodimou* church, to the east of the Acropolis, where the French consul Louis Sébastien Fauvel was able to contemplate it freely in the early nineteenth century.[61] Although it may not be impossible to transport such a massive block of marble over more than a kilometre, it would nevertheless not be at all easy,[62] and, faced with this logistical problem, a number of scholars have argued for a site more suited to the constraints of Athenian topography.

In this quest for an alternative site, the Prytaneum is a credible candidate.[63] Ever since the discovery of the altar of Aglaurus, it has been known that the archaic Agora—of which the Prytaneum constituted an essential element—was situated to the east of the Acropolis, probably fewer than 200 metres distant from the spot where Fauvel was able to view the throne (fig. 7.2).[64] There are also other indications that favour this location[65]: in the first place, we know that thrones were to be found inside the Prytaneum[66]; furthermore, according to Thucydides and Plutarch, the Prytaneum, frequented by all Athenians, was said to have been founded by Theseus, a fact that might well account for the choice to represent the hero on the backrest of the throne; and finally, it was within this building that the city benefactors received *sitēsis*, in the company of the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogiton: a fact that would clearly justify the representation of the effigies of the tyrannicides.[67]

Was this throne a seat for *proedria* in the theatre of Dionysus, or was it a ceremonial throne in the Prytaneum? The choice between them is clear, and, all things considered, the second solution seems the more probable. However, whatever the original location of Elgin's throne, there is one point that is beyond dispute: the monument was designed to distinguish a particularly deserving

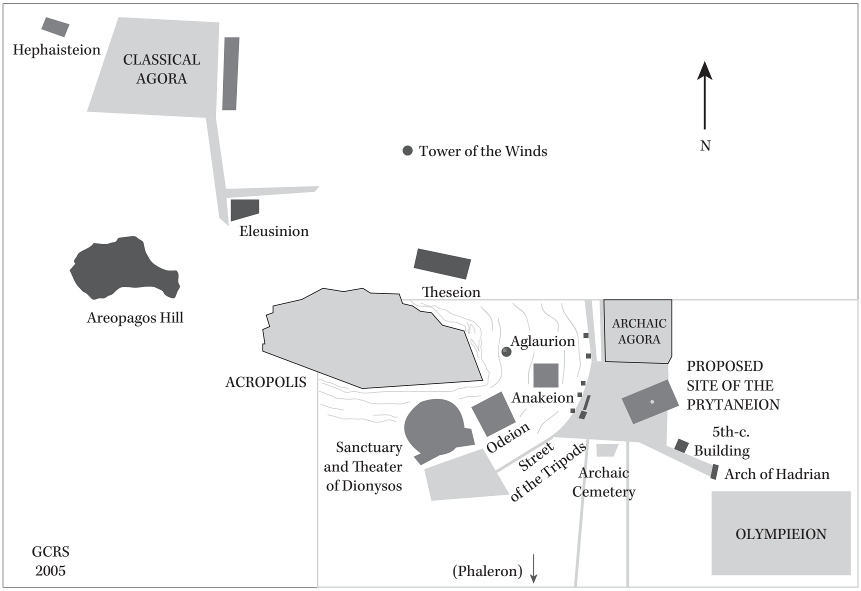
Hephaisteion
CLASSICAL AGORA
Tower of the Winds
N
Eleusinion
Areopagos Hill
Theseion
ACROPOLIS
Aglaurion
ARCHAIC AGORA
Anakeion
PROPOSED SITE OF THE PRYTANEION
Sanctuary and Theater of Dionysos
Odeion
Street of the Tripods
Archaic Cemetery
5th-c. Building
Arch of Hadrian
OLYMPIEION
GCRS 2005
(Phaleron)

FIGURE 7.2 Hypothetical position of the Prytaneum.
From Schmalz (2006) 35.

individual by offering him the highest honours, whether these might be *proedria* or *sitēsis*. It now remains for us to draw out all the consequences that follow from that simple proposition.

We are thus prompted to restore its full importance to an iconographic element that is often overlooked by analyses that are distracted either by the inscription or by the human figures that adorn the throne: namely, the two leafy crowns that are engraved on the middle of the back to the throne, flanked by the Tyrannicides and Theseus. And yet it is these crowns that, on account of their central position, a spectator would notice at first glance; and it is also they that clearly indicate the honorific purpose of the monument: along with a panegyric of praise, the crowns certainly constituted the basic element in the scale of honours.

Once replaced in this context, the representation of Harmodius and Aristogiton likewise takes on a different meaning. Perhaps the reason for the statuary group's being reproduced on the throne was not so much that it was a democratic symbol, but rather that it was the archetype of honorific statuary, for which it presented an allegorical image.

The Elgin throne certainly provided a striking and condensed example of the Athenian honorific repertory of the late fourth century. In the first place, through its very function, the monument—whether it was positioned in the theatre or on the Agora—evoked *proedria,* or even more probably *sitēsis*, if it was situated in the Prytaneum. Furthermore, through its very superfluity, the iconography reinforced that association, both through the engraved crowns and through the reproduction of the group carved by Critius and Nesiotes, which was a transparent symbol of honorific statuary. By having the Tyrannicides represented on such a monument, the Athenians consecrated their definitive integration within the category of *megistai timai.* At the end of the fourth century, there was no doubt about it: the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton were thenceforward considered archetypes of honorific statuary, according to a notion that was still popular in the Roman period and that Pliny echoes (*Natural History*, 34.9.17):

> I do not know whether the first public statues were not erected by the Athenians, and in honour of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who slew the tyrant [*Athenienses nescio an primis omnium Harmodio et Aristogitoni tyrannicidis publice posuerint statuas*]; [. . .] This custom, from a most praiseworthy emulation, was afterwards adopted by all other nations; so that statues were erected as ornaments in the public places of municipal towns, and the memory of individuals was thus preserved, their various honours being inscribed on the pedestals [*honores legendi aevo basibus inscribi*], to be read there by posterity, and not on their tombs alone. After some time, a kind of forum or public place came to be made in private houses and in our halls, the clients adopting this method of doing honour to their patrons.

However, this change in the meaning of the Tyrannicides came about only gradually, and it took some time for the statuary group to acquire a homogeneous honorific aspect. Thus, in the early fourth century, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton continued to convey other messages, too—particularly funerary ones, as is attested by their more or less discreet presence in the Ceramicus.

The Age of Possibilities: The Tyrannicides in Midstream

In the early decades of the fourth century, nothing was yet definitely fixed, and the Tyrannicides could be used just as well for the new and still developing honorific order as for other traditional strategies of distinction used for the Athenian élites. The year 394 makes it possible to grasp how it was that the statuary group could be employed for a variety of quite different purposes.

A VARIETY OF USES: THE TYRANNICIDES IN THE CERAMICUS

In the very year that Conon's honorific statue appeared on the Agora, a young Athenian named Dexileus was killed in the battle of the Nemea River, fighting against the Spartans. Even though he had been buried in a communal grave with other cavalrymen who had fallen in the battle,[68] his family wished to distinguish him from the rest, and it did so by erecting in the family enclosure a splendid stele in his honour (fig. 7.3).[69]

The monument is topped by a bas-relief sculpture representing a young man on horseback, attacking a fallen enemy,[70] and it carries a brief epigram (*IG* II^2 6217; fig. 7.4): 'Dexileus, son of Lysanias, from Thoricus | born in the archonship of Teisandrus [414/413] died in the archonship of Euboulides [394/393] | one of the five hippeis who fell at Corinth, Dexileus, son of Lysanias, of the deme of Thoricus.'

Surprisingly, the inscription states Dexileus' date of birth. In the entire Athenian epigraphic documentation, this is unique: of the 10,000 or more epitaphs recorded in Attica, not one carries such an indication.[71] No doubt the

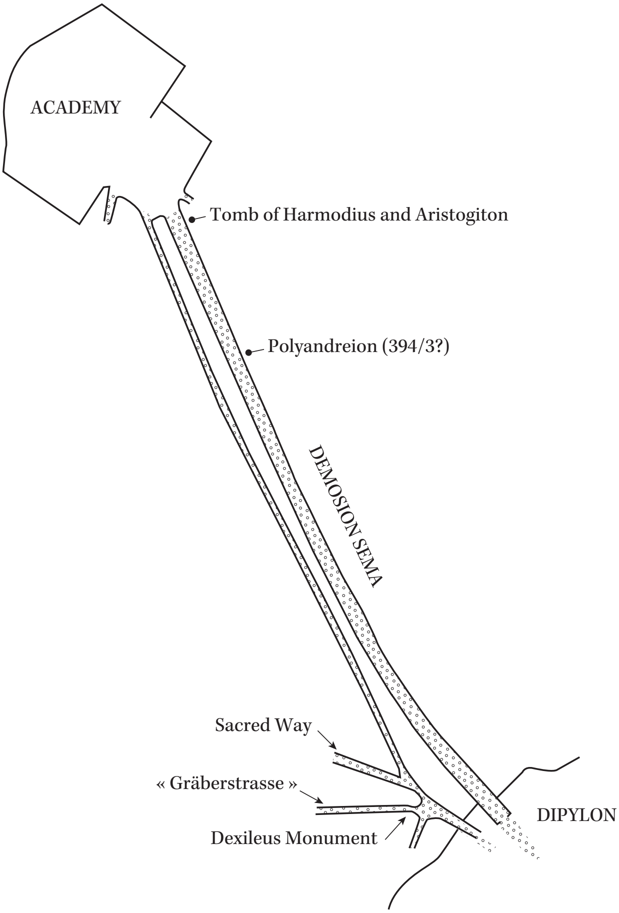
ACADEMY
Tomb of Harmodius and Aristogiton
Polyandreion (394/3?)
DEMOSION SEMA
Sacred Way
« Gräberstrasse »
Dexileus Monument
DIPYLON

FIGURE 7.3 The location of the tomb of Dexileus.

From Clairmont (1983) vol. 2, fig. 5.

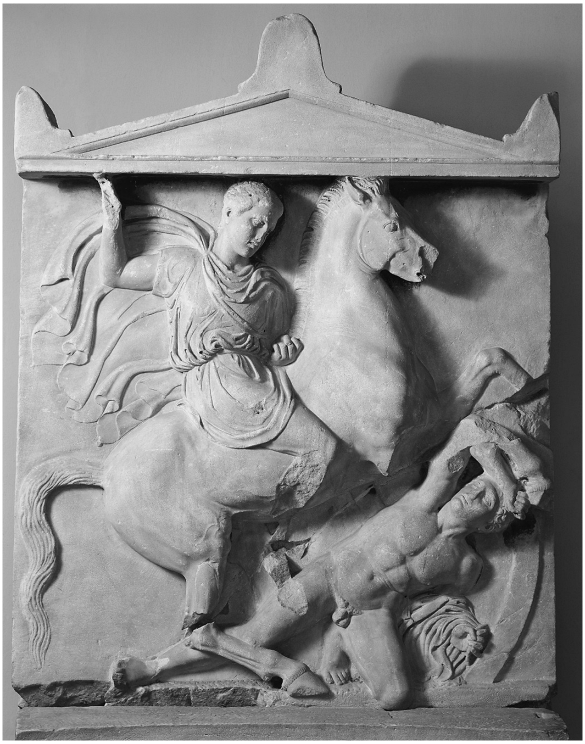

FIGURE 7.4 The monument for Dexileus.

intention was to emphasise how young this cavalryman was, who died in the flower of youth, barely twenty years old, for this would fit in with the 'beautiful death' ideology that Nicole Loraux analysed years ago.[72] However, that reason on its own does not suffice to explain such an unusual choice: numerous young Athenians who died for their country were buried in the Ceramicus without their families' feeling the need to state their dates of birth.

In truth, this quite exceptional mention should certainly be interpreted within the tense political context of the 390s. The mention of Dexileus' age was a way of discreetly pointing out that he was too young to have been involved in the oligarchic episodes of the end of the century. The boy had been only ten years old when most of the Athenian cavalry had decided to rally to the Thirty, having already constituted the spearhead of the revolution of the Four Hundred.[73]

Above and beyond such a defensive perspective, possibly the stele drew attention more positively to Dexileus' sympathy for democracy, by establishing an implicit analogy between his heroic death and the sacrifice of the tyrannicides, one century earlier. At this point we are venturing into the register of hypothesis; however, despite its speculative nature, the suggestion seems to me sufficiently significant to deserve a mention. Let us begin with the main piece in the puzzle. It was within the enclosure belonging to Dexileus' family that archaeologists found one of the three *choes* bearing a reproduction of the statuary group by Critius and Nesiotes.[74] The vase was originally made for use during the Anthesteria, a little after 403, but it later found a new life as an item of funerary furniture. There is nothing to prove that it was on the occasion of Dexileus' death that the *chous* was buried there (for his brother Lysias, his sister Melitta and her husband, as well as Lysias' son, Lysanius II, his wife, and his son, all occupied the same enclosure). However, there is at least nothing, chronologically speaking, to preclude it, for the vase was painted ten years before Dexileus' death. Above all, such an iconographic choice would have been particularly apposite if it did relate to the dead cavalryman: given the absence of the young man's body (already buried in the *polyandrion* along with his comrades who fell at the same time as he did), the objects that were buried in the family enclosure in Athens were particularly important, since they, together with the stele, constituted the only indicators of the dead soldier's identity, so they functioned as symbolic substitutes for the dead boy. In choosing this particular vase bearing such an identifiable motif, the family may have been seeking to draw attention to the close affinities between Dexileus and Harmodius, both struck down in the flower of their youth for the sake of their country.[75] My hypothesis is admittedly fragile, but there is perhaps one further element that gives it some substance: namely, the fact that the birth of Dexileus (414) pretty well corresponds to the centenary of the assassination of Hipparchus (514). Before dismissing this connection out of hand, we should remember that the Athenians were prone to paying attention to chronological coincidences of this type. Thucydides confirms this, in his own way, when he writes, on the subject of the revolution of 411 (8.68.4): '[...] for it was difficult, after the lapse of almost one hundred years since the tyrants had been overthrown, to deprive of their liberty the Athenian people.'[76] Commemorative dates were particularly important to citizens since they gave them a temporal orientation based on the great political or military events of the past. So it is quite possible—but in no way certain—that the image on the vase and the inscription on the stele may have functioned, in combination, to create a significant association in the minds of spectators.

But enough of hypotheses. Even if it were recognized, the link between Dexileus and the Tyrannicides was as uncertain as it was fleeting: uncertain because the analogy remained implicit and might well not be understood by spectators; and fleeting because only the participants in the ritual were in a position to appreciate the allusion as they contemplated the vase before it was finally buried within the funerary enclosure.

We find ourselves on firmer ground if we leave the cenotaph of Dexileus and return to the tomb of Conon, a few dozen metres further on in the Ceramicus cemetery (fig. 7.5). Quite apart from the honorific statue of him on the Agora (which produced its effect by seeming to reflect the Tyrannicides' group),[77] Conon was in fact buried in a tomb that was adjacent to the cenotaph of

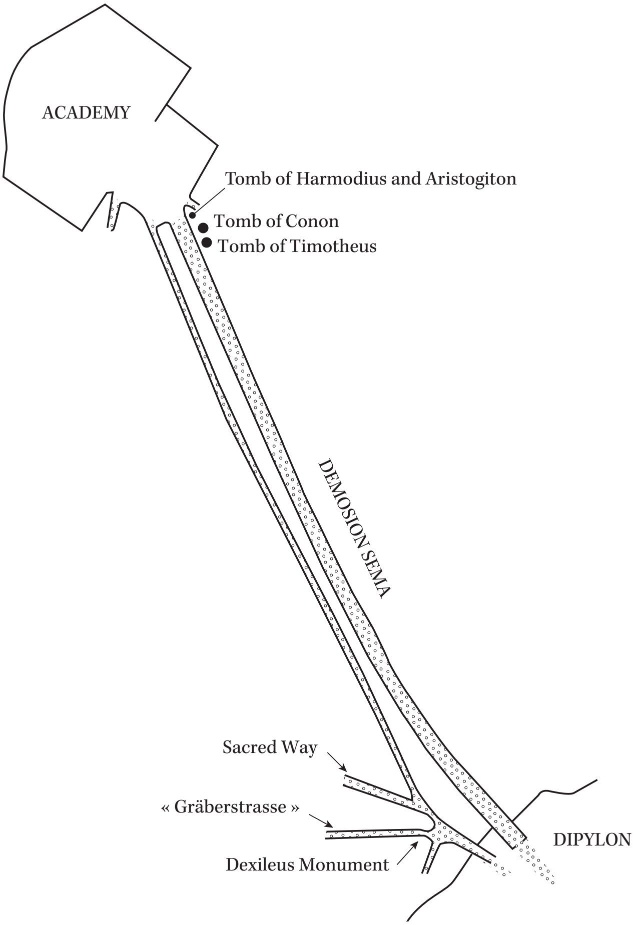
ACADEMY
Tomb of Harmodius and Aristogiton
Tomb of Conon
Tomb of Timotheus
DEMOSION SEMA
Sacred Way
« Gräberstrasse »
Dexileus Monument
DIPYLON

FIGURE 7.5 The location of the tombs of the Ceramicus: the Tyrannicides, Conon and Timotheus. From Clairmont (1983) vol. 2, fig. 5.

Harmodius and Aristogiton (Pausanias, 1.29.15). The choice of this position was assuredly by no means coincidental, for Conon's family was bent on displaying the affinities that connected its 'great man' with the city's two liberators. When Conon's son Timotheus died, he, too, was buried close by, as if to emphasise that close connection.[78] In those early years of the fourth century, the memory of Harmodius and Aristogiton could thus be used to promote the strategies of distinction employed by one of the most powerful Athenian families, just as it could be used for public and honorific purposes on the Agora.[79] The fact was that the honorific metamorphosis of the Tyrannicides was far from complete, and the image of the two heroes still possessed powerful funerary resonances.

However, there was as yet nothing to suggest that honorific statuary would become firmly rooted within the urban landscape of Athens. On the contrary, what in fact is striking is the parsimony with which, up until the 320s, that honour was awarded and, above all, the lively opposition that these newcomers to the public space aroused. Furthermore, it was in the name of the Tyrannicides—and their exceptional status—that this dogged struggle was sometimes continued by their distant descendants.

A PROBLEMATIC INNOVATION: HONORIFIC STATUES AS MATTER OF DISPUTE

Throughout much of the fourth century, the bestowal of *megistai timai* was hotly contested within the Athenian community. One of Demosthenes' speeches reveals the force of the opposition aroused by those honours judged to be undeserved. In his *Against Aristocrates,* delivered in 352 B.C., the orator emphasised the modest nature of the distinctions granted in the fifth century and, in comparison, criticised the recent developments in the Athenian honorific repertory: 'So many citizens who had provided services quite different from those provided by the *stratēgoi* of today never obtained from our ancestors either bronze statues or expressions of adulation.'[80] According to him, the honorific statues were even threatening the power of the people upon which the democratic regime was founded (*Against Aristocrates* 23.198):

> The truth is, gentlemen, that they would not rob themselves of their own share in any of those ancient achievements; and no man would say that the Battle of Salamis belonged to Themistocles—it was the battle of the Athenians; or that the victory at Marathon belonged to Miltiades—it was the victory of the commonwealth. But today, men of Athens, it is commonly said that Corcyra was captured by Timotheus, that the Spartan battalion was cut to pieces by Iphicrates, that the naval victory of Naxos was won by Chabrias. It really looks as though you disclaimed any merit for those feats of arms by the extravagant honours [*tōn timōn tais huperbolais*] that you lavish on the several generals.

According to Demosthenes, this change in the honours system was gravely compromising the control that the people exercised over the élite citizens, for the glory of individuals now seemed greater than collective successes. Even taking into account the element of oratorical exaggeration inherent in legal speeches, the statues clearly constituted rewards that were problematic in the eyes of many fourth-century Athenians.[81]

Controlling Distinctions: Statues in the Hot Seat

The trouble was that, in many respects, honorific statues conferred excessive distinction. In the first place, financially, a statue was by far the costliest of rewards (3,000 drachmas on average, in the Hellenistic period), so expensive that the Athenian people were sometimes hard put to it to honour its promise.[82] Secondly, a statue singled out its recipient to a far greater degree than other kinds of honours did. Whereas the latter did not vary according to whoever received them, a statue doubled the distinctive effect of its inscription[83] by individualising the benefactor, probably not so much by his facial features as by the pose that was adopted.[84] Above all, symbolically such distinctions could be extremely disturbing: honorific bronze statues were bound to evoke the divine statues that cluttered the Acropolis and the Agora,[85] endlessly repeating the model provided by the Tyrannicides, at the risk of trivialising it.

That is why, throughout the early fourth century, such distinctions were awarded only with great parsimony by the Athenian people, who were careful to hedge them about with constraints. For the future, honorific statues were offered only following a regular official procedure. As Philippe Gauthier has shown, by the end of the fifth century, benefactors were themselves obliged to solicit honours from the Council, thereby placing themselves in the position of petitioners rather than active benefactors. Not until the request (*aitēsis*) had been approved could the *prytaneis*, after a lapse of time,[86] submit the proposal to the Assembly. In this way, the people preserved a monopoly over distinctions, a fact that was moreover emphasised in the very grammar of honorific inscriptions: it is always the community, in the nominative, that honours the benefactor, in the accusative, who is locked in the passive position of a recipient—a point that has been effectively emphasised by John Ma.[87]

Moreover, popular control did not stop there. Even once approved by vote, those exorbitant honours remained insecure: the proposal or decree was frequently attacked in the popular courts, which could rule that the decision to bestow the honour was illegal. This was a way of restricting the award of this excessive privilege. Indeed, of the five Athenians honoured before 323—the *stratēgoi* Conon, Iphicrates, Chabrias, and Timotheus, along with the orator Demades (who was honoured by a bronze statue on the Agora shortly after 335[88])—at least three were the objects of a prosecution in the popular courts. Chabrias saw his rewards temporarily challenged by Leodamas of Acharnae, although the latter was unsuccessful in his efforts (Demosthenes, *Against Leptines* 20.146–147); the honours assigned to Demades were likewise contested by the orator Lycurgus and by Polyeuctus of Sphettus, also without success.[89] But it was Iphicrates who was the first object of judicial attacks, and his case deserves our attention, for it illuminates the struggle that, on this occasion, the descendants of the tyrannicides put up in order to preserve the exceptional nature of their ancestors' statues.

Defending the Exceptional: Harmodius' Lawsuit Against Iphicrates

In 389, following his victory over the Spartans, close to Corinth,[90] Iphicrates was honoured by an effigy in bronze and at the same time was awarded meals in the Prytaneum and *proedria*. First, let us endeavour to avoid a teleological point of view: at this date, there was no assurance that the awarding of honorific statuary in Athens was an irresistible phenomena. The city found itself at a crucial moment: the statues assigned to Conon and Evagoras in 394 were still regarded as exceptional and were certainly not expected to be imitated. However, by the time it came to voting to grant honours to Iphicrates, five years later, the deal was changed. What was involved was no longer the granting of an exorbitant honour to exceptional benefactors; rather, it was a matter of establishing a new honorific tradition, bringing to a definite end the exceptional position that the Tyrannicides group on the Agora still enjoyed.

Indeed, that is what explains how it was that, at this point, the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogiton decided to react. We know from many sources that the granting of honours to Iphicrates was attacked by Harmodius, the son of Proxenus of Aphidna, who was a direct descendant of the tyrannicide. Although none of the prosecution speech survives, several fragments of the defence of Iphicrates have come down to us.[91] The title of the speech, *On the Statue of Iphicrates*, which is preserved by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, is in itself revealing: Harmodius was objecting, not to the attribution of honours to Iphicrates in itself, but simply to the granting of a distinctive effigy that was to be positioned close to the statue of his ancestor.

Having noted a number of the famous tirades deployed in that plea in his *Rhetoric* (2.23.1398a18–22), Aristotle ventures to convey some idea of the defensive strategy adopted by Iphicrates on this occasion:

> [. . .] When Iphicrates desired to prove that the best man [*beltistos*] is the most noble [*gennaiotatos*], he declared that there was nothing noble [*gennaion*] attaching to Harmodius and Aristogiton before they did something noble; and 'I myself am more akin [*suggenestera*] to them than you; at any rate, my deeds are more akin to theirs than yours'.[92]

Iphicrates' argument can be divided into two parts. He begins by emphasising that, in full agreement with democratic ideology, a man's worth does not depend on his origins. That is his way of countering Harmodius' slights regarding his supposed 'lowly birth' (*dusgeneia*),[93] while at the same time obliquely criticising the hereditary honours that his accuser, as a descendant of Harmodius, enjoys[94]: in a democratic regime, distinctions are supposed to be deserved rather than inherited.[95]

But Iphicrates' response is not limited to that veiled critique. Having established that nobility proves itself by actions rather than by blood, Iphicrates claims to be more akin (*suggenesteros*) to the tyrannicides than his prestigious accuser is, and that word is clearly not chosen at random: '*Syggeneis* applies to patrilinear blood relations, ranging from directly descended kin to the descendants of cousins.'[96] Playing on the meaning of the word, the *stratēgos* thus reckons that he is linked to the tyrannicides through the only relationship that really counts, that of valour. In another extract from his speech, this time one recorded by Aelius Aristides, Iphicrates goes even further in his claim to be the tyrannicides' true companion in arms: 'And mentioning Harmodius and Aristogiton, whom the Athenians regarded as the first of all their benefactors, he says that if he had lived in their times, "he would have made them his associates or would have been invited by them to participate in their deed".'[97]

The *stratēgos* was thus placing himself on a footing equal to that of his illustrious predecessors. The way that his statement is balanced indeed suggests a perfect reciprocity: Iphicrates invites himself to the murder of the tyrant, at the same time enrolling Harmodius and Aristogiton in his own military phalanx! However excessive the accused's claim may have been, it was clearly favourably received by the popular jury, for, at the end of this trial, the *stratēgos* was acquitted. That, at least, is what can be inferred from the evidence of Pausanias (1.24.7), who, several centuries later, himself saw Iphicrates' statue on the Agora of Athens.

That acquittal no doubt owed much to the famous 'peer polity interaction'[98] that set the Athenians in competition with other cities in the Greek world, for Iphicrates, like Conon, already enjoyed huge honours awarded to him by foreign communities, a fact that he is not slow to recall in the course of his defence speech: 'You think, O men of Athens, that these decrees and this monument which you have bestowed upon me is something noble [*semnon*]. But there has been erected for me a monument in the Peloponnesus which reaches to heaven [*stēlē ouranomēkēs*], and bears witness to my virtue.'[99] In this climate of honorific outbidding, the Athenians could hardly be left behind, allowing others, rather than themselves, to honour the *stratēgos*.

In many respects, the trial of Iphicrates represents a tipping point in the history of honours in Athens. On one hand, the litigation maintained a measure of continuity with the past: by likening himself to the tyrannicides, the accused picked up on the analogy that, four years previously, had justified the erection of the statues of Conon and Evagoras. On the other, the outcome of the trial marked a decisive break in the Athenian practices of distinction and paved the way for a considerable increase in the number of honorific statues erected in the public space.

An expression used by Iphicrates perhaps sums up this great swing, in an allegorical fashion (Plutarch, *Sayings of Kings and Commanders*, 187B*)*: 'In reply to Harmodius, descendant of the Harmodius of early days, who twitted him about his lowly birth, he said, "My family (*genos*) history begins with me, but yours ends with you".' In the course of the polemical crossfire, the *stratēgos* called his adversary 'the last of a race', while boasting that he himself was the founder of a new *genos*. However, that comment of his could likewise be understood in another, more metaphorical, way: what was ending with the young Harmodius was above all the exclusivity enjoyed by the effigies of the Tyrannicides on the Agora; and what was beginning with Iphicrates was the future right of benefactors to have their statues erected within the same space. By the end of his trial, Iphicrates presented himself as the founder of a new line of benefactors who were represented by bronze statues and who were united by their valour, no longer by blood.

In the first third of the fourth century, the Tyrannicides group thus lost the uniqueness by which it had been characterised up until the end of the fifth century, when it had stood on the Agora in splendid isolation. Even if the effigies of Harmodius and Aristogiton continued to occupy an eminent position within the public space, they were no longer without equal or equivalent as they used to be. This whole evolution led to a normalisation of the statues of the Tyrannicides in the course of the last third of the fourth century, at the point when Athens found itself faced with the eruption of the Hellenistic kings and, step by step, was forced to defend its independence.

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Model 'Notables'

THE TYRANNICIDES IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

'The Greek city did not die at Chaeronea': this has, for many years now, been agreed.[1] Nevertheless, Athens did not emerge unscathed from its defeat by Philip of Macedon. After the death of Alexander the Great in 323, the city underwent alternate phases of liberty and servitude. Faced with Hellenistic kings who were prone to be to interventionist, Athens had to fight ceaselessly to preserve its autonomy and was often forced to seek support from some of them in order to foil the designs of others.[2] The Greek world now rested upon a different basis, and the cities were obliged to adjust their politics to this new Mediterranean order.

What became of the Tyrannicides in this troubled period, when Athens was oscillating between subjection and independence? On this question, the sources are unfortunately very uneven. It would accordingly be very difficult to describe the fate of the statues in the late Hellenistic period since, between the mid–third century and the end of the second century B.C., there is no evidence at all to go on. By contrast, the literary and epigraphic documentation throws significant light on the life of the statuary group at the end of the fourth century and in the beginning of the third. It was then that the Tyrannicides became a key factor in the dialogue that the Athenians endeavoured to establish with the Macedonian kings. Although unequal, the exchange was marked by at least a measure of reciprocity: the initiative was taken sometimes by the kings (when, for example, Alexander, or perhaps one of his successors, returned Antenor's statuary group to Athens), sometimes by the city (when, on several occasions, the Athenians voted to erect on the Agora, close to the Tyrannicides, a number of honorific statues dedicated to other sovereigns).

By the end of this lopsided dialogue, the Tyrannicides had mutated into model notables, and their new status was expressed by a particular form of normalisation. So it was that the statues lost what had previously made their singularity most striking; namely, their topographical isolation. This had already been undermined at the start of the fourth century by the sudden emergence on the Agora of the earliest honorific statues. Now, however, at the end of the fourth century, their exceptional status came to an end definitively. The statues produced by Critius and Nesiotes thenceforth had to accommodate their own doubles, initially when Antenor's group was restored to Athens, but above all when royal statues were erected in their immediate vicinity.

Even if this turn of events resulted in a degree of trivialisation for the Tyrannicides, it certainly did not lead to a devaluing of the statuary group. On the Agora, the effigies of the Tyrannicides certainly remained notable (in the proper sense of the term); that is to say, remarkable and possessed of a great power of attraction. They remained an unmissable point of reference for all the other statues that gradually accumulated in this public space; and the Athenians on several occasions made the most of the aura surrounding the monument in order to distinguish exceptional benefactors from the cohort of more ordinary ones.

By—to coin a phrase—'becoming notable-ised', the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton at the same time became less remarkable—and less uniquely Athenian—and this, in its turn, made it easier for other Greeks to appropriate them. In the Hellenistic period, the Tyrannicides even became a model throughout the eastern Mediterranean, as is attested not only by the development, in Asia Minor, of anti-tyrannical legislation (which anticipated the erection of statues of tyrannicides inspired by the Athenian model), but also to a diffusion of epigrams in honour of Harmodius and Aristogiton in places far distant from the shores of Attica.

Standardisation: The Tyrannicides Faced with Competition

Corseted in their new honorific garb, Harmodius and Aristogiton gradually lost their haughtiness. They had originally been the transgressive heroes in a story of love and death, but they now acquired the aspect of respectable benefactors, similar to the victorious generals who, to be sure, aroused the gratitude of the Athenians but did not spark their fascination. Antiphanes, who was active between 387 and 335 B.C., through the magnifying prism of comedy affords us a glimpse of this process of symbolic erosion at work. In his *Doubles* (*Diplasioi*), the poet imagines a biting dialogue between two characters who are clearly arguing about the organisation of a *symposion*:

> A. What'll be in it, then, for the gods?
> B. Nothing, unless someone mixes some wine.
> A. Hold on. Take hold of the *Ōidos*; and then don't recite one of those old-fashioned pieces, the Telamon, or the Paean, or the Harmodius.[3]

The humour of the scene revolves around the *Ōidos,* which, according to one ancient grammarian, was a pot used in the *skolia* competitions that took place at a banquet.[4] The object was thus closely associated with the drinking songs, and its very presence was likely to set off a fresh round of singing. Among the outmoded ditties that the first speaker dreads to hear, the *Harmodius* figures prominently. Clearly, the song was well out of fashion by the second half of the fourth century. We certainly know that taste in musical matters had evolved a great deal. To the latest generations, the *Harmodius*, so popular in its day, sounded like a corny old tune reminiscent of a bygone age.[5]

Quite apart from the *skolion* itself, this disenchanted view may, it seems, apply more especially to the memory of the tyrannicides, who, as a result of being so frequently addressed, were on the way to being trivialised, not only in the speeches of orators, but also within the Agora. In the course of the last third of the fourth century, the bronzes produced by Critius and Nesiotes were thus faced with increasing competition. On one hand, once Antenor's statues were returned to Athens by either Alexander or one of his successors, they were competing with themselves; on the other, they were facing competition from the new liberators that the Athenians now had no hesitation in placing in commanding positions. At the rhetorical level, the heroes of the Lamian War, celebrated by Hyperides, gradually came to eclipse even the image of the Tyrannicides; meanwhile, topographically, in 307 B.C., right next to the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the Athenians erected a new monumental group in honour of Antigonus the One-eyed and Demetrius Poliorcetes.

COMPETING WITH THEMSELVES: THE RETURN OF ANTENOR'S GROUP (*C.* 324 B.C.?)

In this process of standardisation, there was an early period that was very lively: between 324 and 261 B.C., it saw the return of Antenor's statuary group to the Agora of Athens. The chronology is uncertain, for the ancient sources are not in agreement about the identity of whoever initiated this restitution. According to Arrian and Pliny, it was Alexander the Great who was responsible[6]; for Pausanias (1.8.5), it was some indeterminate Antiochus who should be credited with the initiative; as for Valerius Maximus, he detected the hand of a Seleucus—probably Alexander's general who became the founder of the Seleucid dynasty.[7]

It is quite possible, even probable, that Alexander himself was responsible for this gesture.[8] Two circumstantial factors support such an attribution. In the first place, the restitution of Antenor's group would have been altogether in keeping with Alexander's policy regarding the Greek cities, for this envisaged involving them in his struggle against the Persians. After the Battle of the Granicus in 334, he had, accordingly, sent the Athenians three hundred panoplies seized from the enemy, some of which may have been dedicated and exhibited on the architrave of the Parthenon.[9] Secondly, it was in the conqueror's interest to cast himself as protector of Harmodius and Aristogiton, for he would thereby defuse the accusations of tyranny that he attracted and that Callisthenes of Olynthus, under his breath, cautiously echoed.[10]

All the same, the implication of the Seleucids in the affair cannot be ruled out. According to Pausanias (1.16.3), Seleucus returned to the Milesians the bronze statue of Apollo at Branchidae that Xerxes had carried off to Ecbatana in the course of the Second Persian War[11]; so the restitution of Antenor's group might well have constituted but one element in a coherent policy of benefaction that the Seleucid sovereign orchestrated. Some scholars have even tried to pin down the chronology of this episode, attempting to reconcile the account given by Pausanias, who implicates a certain Antiochus, and that offered by Valerius Maximus, who favours a certain Seleucus. The restitution may thus have occurred during the period of the co-regency of Antiochus I and Seleucus I, between 293 and 288 B.C.[12].

One other hypothesis has been suggested: namely, that it may indeed have been Alexander the Great who returned the Antenor group to the Athenians, but perhaps the Seleucids later tried to claim the credit for doing so. Antiochus III is supposed to have played a decisive role in the affair, claiming that the return of the statues was ordered by his ancestor Seleucus I.[13] Although it has the merit of combining all the ancient sources in a single plausible scenario, this clever reconstruction is not really possible to sustain.

Whoever was in reality responsible for the return of Antenor's group, it certainly had mixed effects on the image of the Tyrannicides. At a visual level, the Athenians were now able to contemplate the two groups side by side, in an astonishing mirror-like reflection. Pausanias explicitly evokes this strange doublet in his description of the Agora, attempting to distinguish the two series of effigies: 'Of the statues some were made by Critius, the old ones being the work of Antenor.'[14] What can have been the effect produced by this brutal juxtaposition? Did it enhance the aura of the Tyrannicides or, on the contrary, diminish its impact?

Before sketching in an answer, we need to assess the confusion that this doubling must have provoked in the city. When they were reinstalled on the Agora, Antenor's statues may have been regarded either as doubles, given that they had been set alongside statues already in place there, or else as the originals, since they were more ancient than the others. Whereas, for a century and a half, the effigies by Critius and Nesiotes had embodied the Tyrannicides, now, all of a sudden, they were flanked by a group that was more venerable but that no-one recognised. In this arrangement, which was the original, which the copy? By its very presence, it seems to me that Antenor's group must have constituted a perpetual reminder of the secondary nature of the statues by Critius and Nesiotes, reducing them to their true nature of doubles and replacements.

At the very least, the return of Antenor's statues introduced a visual trivialisation of the Tyrannicides. There is one particular piece of evidence that seems to me to suggest this. In his *Natural History*, Pliny the Elder mentions yet another group of Tyrannicides, one sculpted by a certain Antignotus.[15] Although nothing is known of its appearance (were these simply copies or portraits more suited to the taste of the day?[16]) nor of how the figures were positioned, it is possible to date these effigies precisely, for archaeologists have discovered the base of a bronze equestrian statue signed by Antignotus and erected in honour of either Demetrius of Phaleron, the tyrant legislator (317/307 B.C.), or his grandson of the same name (*c.* 280–250 B.C.).[17] Shortly after the return of Antenor's group, yet another sculptor had thus dared to take on the prestigious theme of the Tyrannicides, as if the pair by Critius and Nesiotes were now just a monument like any other, one that could be imitated or even improved upon. While Athenian artists had already represented the statues in different materials, such as ceramics, no sculptor had hitherto dared to venture on to the same terrain and produce alternative versions (unless, that is, we believe, along with Antonio Corso, that, as early as the mid–fourth century, Praxiteles produced his own version of the Tyrannicides[18]).

Quite apart from its visual impact, the return of Antenor's group deeply affected the symbolism associated with the Tyrannicides. Whether we ascribe its restitution to Alexander, to Seleucus, or to Antiochus, this was, in effect, a favour bestowed by the Macedonian sovereigns. Whereas, since the very beginning, the Tyrannicides had symbolised a liberty seized by violence by the Athenians themselves, now, as a result of this unexpected return, they became emblems of a liberty *conceded* by a magnanimous king—in the same way as the 'liberty of Greek cities'[19] whose protectors the Hellenistic sovereigns claimed to be.

Arrian's account enables us to assess this evolution. The scene that he describes takes place in the spring of 323, in Babylon, at the time of the return of Alexander's expedition from India, when the conqueror was at the zenith of his glory[20]:

> When Alexander had entered Babylon, embassies [*presbeiai*] came to meet him from the Greeks; it is not recorded for what purposes each embassy came, but I am inclined to think that most of them were to offer him wreaths [*stephanountōn*] and to congratulate him on all his victories [*epainountōn epi tais nikais*], especially those in India, and also to express their greetings to him at his safe return from India. He is said to have received them graciously, sent them home with appropriate honour and given them to take back all the statues [*andriantas*] or divine images [*agalmata*] or other votive offerings [*anathēma*] Xerxes removed from Greece to Babylon, Pasargadae, Susa or to anywhere else in Asia, and it is said that the bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton were taken back to Athens in this way, as well as the seated figure of Celcean Artemis.[21]

The statues thus appear to have been returned following the Athenian embassy to Babylon, within the framework of a proper exchange of customary courtesies.[22] For the scene that Arrian describes is that of an honorific transaction: on one hand, the Greeks crowned the conqueror and devoted a eulogy to him, which was the expression used to refer to an institutionalised honour; on the other, Alexander handed over presents, in particular statues that, in the past, had been seized by the Persians, and thereby posed as the guarantor of the Greeks' liberty.[23]

However, for us to grasp all its implications, this exchange needs to be placed in a yet wider context. The fact was that in 324, the Athenians had already bestowed the highest honours upon Alexander. Hyperides, in his speech *Against Demosthenes*, delivered in 323 in the wake of the Harpalus affair, reproaches his former ally for having 'wanted [. . .] to set up a statue [*eikona*] of King Alexander the invincible god [*tou anikētou theou*] [. . .?] of Olympia [?. . .] announced to the people'.[24]

The sentence, which has been partially restored, has caused much ink to flow, for it touches upon the controversial matter of the deification of Alexander.[25] As Andrew Stewart has pointed out,[26] this extract on its own is not enough to prove that the Athenians really did grant divine honours at this time to the Macedonian conqueror. To refer to Alexander's effigy, Hyperides in fact uses the generic term *eikōn* rather than *agalma*, which was reserved for statues that were worshipped.[27] Two points nevertheless do remain established: firstly, Alexander was certainly honoured in 324 by a statue, whatever its exact nature, on the Agora; secondly, this unprecedented privilege was then rapidly challenged, even before the conqueror's death.

In this tense atmosphere, the return of the Antenor group—barely a few months later, if we are to believe Arrian—took on a whole new meaning. It might have appeared as a present from Alexander by way of thanks for the statue voted in his honour. In the eyes of the defenders of Athens' liberty, this restitution would have appeared as a mug's game, since it would have entailed reciprocation in the form of the erection of a statue of Alexander within the same space, and possibly—if we are to believe Pausanias—even within reach of the Tyrannicides group, for the author of the *Periēgēsis* certainly mentions the effigies of Alexander and his father Philip immediately after his description of the bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton.[28] So, having started off as a symbol of the liberation of Athens, the group would have become an emblem of its disguised subordination.

It is perhaps within this polemical context that we should also analyse the funeral speech delivered by Hyperides in the following year, from which the tyrannicides did not emerge with much honour. Visual competition was now complemented by a rhetorical slighting.

RHETORICAL COMPETITION: THE HYPERBOLIC ENCOMIUM OF LEOSTHENES (322 B.C.)

In early 322, Hyperides was given the honour of delivering the funeral speech for the soldiers who had fallen in the early clashes of the Lamian War. When the death of Alexander was announced, numerous Greek cities had revolted against Macedonian rule and united against the troops of Antipater, one of Alexander's generals. Enthusiasm prevailed: even if the *stratēgos* Leosthenes had recently been killed at the head of his troops in a minor clash,[29] the Athenians had every reason to be optimistic, and victory seemed to be close at hand. In these favourable circumstances, Hyperides launched into a eulogy that, in many respects, broke with the current conventions.

In the first place, the orator dwelt at length upon Leosthenes, the leader of the Athenian troops, delighting to list his exploits (*Funeral Oration* 6.10–15). Such a personal emphasis was quite new, for in principle, funeral orations limited themselves to collective praise for the dead and through them, for their city, not for their commander.[30] The focus adopted by Hyperides next led him to compare Leosthenes to the great heroes of the past, primarily the leaders in the Trojan War. The comparison operated to the advantage of the Athenian *stratēgos*, who could pride himself on having, 'with only his country to help humbled completely the power that controlled Europe and Asia',[31] whereas, in order to take a single town, Agamemnon had been obliged to rally forces from all over Greece. The next comparison is even more remarkable: according to Hyperides, Leosthenes, through his courage and wisdom, proved himself superior to the *stratēgoi* of the Persian wars (§38). No orator had hitherto been so exorbitantly pretentious: at the very most, there had been claims that the contemporary dead had matched the level of the fighters of Marathon.[32]

Hyperides ended his speech with one further comparison, this time between Leosthenes and the tyrannicides. Here, too, the orator struck a new note: a mention of Harmodius and Aristogiton was by no means usual within the framework of a funeral oration, for the two liberators had not died in battle.[33] No doubt what we should detect here is a desire to assimilate the Macedonian sovereigns to tyrants, an analogy then current among orators.[34] If the choice of the comparison is astonishing, the way that the parallel is introduced is even more so (*Funeral Oration* 6.39):

> I think even these men who demonstrated to the people most clearly their friendship to one another, I mean Harmodius and Aristogiton, would agree that none is so nearly at the same level as Leosthenes and his companions in arms; nor is there anyone with whom they would rather associate [*oikeioterous*] in Hades than with these men. Quite rightly. For

> the exploits of these men were not inferior to theirs, but if we need say it, even greater. They deposed the tyrants in their own country, whereas these men deposed the tyrants of all Greece.

In this lyrical flight of fancy, Hyperides repeats an argument to which Iphicrates had already resorted in the course of the lawsuit that had been brought against him. On that occasion, the *stratēgos* had argued that his glorious deeds had made him 'more closely related [*suggenesteros*]' to the tyrannicides than his accuser himself, despite the latter being a descendant of Harmodius.[35] Using a similar formula (*oikeioterous*), the orator imagined Leosthenes and his troops being welcomed with open arms to Hades by Harmodius and Aristogiton, who are delighted to have them as their companions.

However, Hyperides is not content simply to follow in Iphicrates' footsteps, for he imparts a completely new twist to the comparison. At the end of the speech, Harmodius and Aristogiton find themselves demoted from their status as 'supreme benefactors', to the advantage of Leosthenes and his men, who are now considered even more deserving than the tyrannicides. In this quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns *avant la lettre*, the orator proceeds to introduce a transgressive inversion: according to him, it is Harmodius and Aristogiton who should consider themselves fortunate to have the chance to be welcomed by Leosthenes and his men!

Of course, this is a form of rhetorical exaggeration by an orator striving to impress. But that does not explain how it was that Hyperides should be the first orator to dare to make the Tyrannicides wobble on their pedestal. To understand this, we no doubt need to take into consideration the damaging effects introduced by the restoration of Antenor's group of statues in the preceding year—if, that is, we credit the version of events given by Arrian. The symbolic demotion of the tyrannicides in Hyperides' speech then makes perfect sense: for it was, to put it mildly, hard to turn Harmodius and Aristogiton into symbols of the struggle against the Macedonians at the very point when their statues had just been liberated by Alexander[36]!

The already acute competition faced by the tyrannicides reached its peak just a few years later, in 307, when the Tyrannicides group, or possibly even both groups of statues on the Agora, were flanked by statues of Antigonus the One-eyed and Demetrius Poliorcetes. The Tyrannicides definitely no longer stood alone. This desanctification of the monument attests to the prestige that the statues still enjoyed, but it also showed that the Athenians now reckoned that they had met their match, or even their superiors.

TOPOGRAPHICAL COMPETITION: LIBERATORS CONFRONTING SAVIOURS (307 B.C.)

A few years after the Lamian War, Athens passed under the control of the Macedonian Cassander (the son of Antipater), who placed at the head of the city one of his trusted Athenian followers, Demetrius of Phaleron. The democracy was abolished and replaced by an oligarchic regime.[37] In 307 B.C., Demetrius Poliorcetes, the son of Antigonus the One-eyed, one of Alexander's generals who, following the conqueror's death, divided up the empire between them, occupied Piraeus, provoking the immediate flight of Demetrius of Phaleron. The *diadochus* then proclaimed the liberty of the city and, cheered on by the crowd, promised not to install any garrison in either the town or Piraeus. To thank him for this decisive action, the citizens gathered in the *Ekklēsia* and awarded him the greatest honours. Here is what Diodorus Siculus (20.46.2) tells us:

> After gaining these successes in a few days and razing Munychia completely, Demetrius restored to the people their freedom and established friendship and an alliance with them. The Athenians, Stratocles writing the decree, voted to set up golden statues of Antigonus and Demetrius in a chariot [*chrusas eikonas eph' harmatos*] near the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, to give them both honorary crowns at a cost of two hundred talents, to consecrate an altar to them and call it the altar of the Saviours, to add to the ten tribes two more, Demetrias and Antigonis, to hold annual games in their honour with a procession and a sacrifice, and to weave their portraits in the *peplos* of Athena.[38]

This decision was accompanied by a collection of extraordinary honours for the two Macedonian sovereigns. In this context, the statues erected close to Critius' and Nesiotes' monument conveyed a clear message: Antigonus and Demetrius were the Tyrannicides' doubles, guarantors of the Athenians' liberty. Once again, the association was expressed in terms of doubles and imitation, themes intimately linked with the history of the group right from the start, as is clear from the two monuments successively erected on the Agora and from the effigies of Conon and Evagoras that were twinned with those of Harmodius and Aristogiton.

It should also be noted that not only were the two sovereigns placed on the same footing as Harmodius and Aristogiton, but they furthermore towered head and shoulders above them; for the effigies of father and son were set on a chariot, in a loftier position. Their supremacy was also expressed, symbolically, by the material used to sculpt the new group, which was probably gilded bronze.[39] That choice must have bestowed a particularly glittering splendour upon the statues of the two Macedonians, thereby eclipsing the bronze statues sculpted by Critius and Nesiotes, which had become tarnished by time.[40]

By the end of the fourth century, the Tyrannicides had thus lost their exceptional status on the Agora of Athens. Even so, this reduction to ordinariness did not at all dissipate their aura. The statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton remained a model to be followed by citizens and foreigners alike; better still, they became the touchstone through which Athenians gauged the merits of benefactors. For, contrary to a deeply rooted historiographical cliché, the sector of the Agora where the Tyrannicides stood did not remain empty of monuments in the Hellenistic period, but instead served to distinguish a very particular class of benefactors.

Legitimation: The Tyrannicides Used as a Tool to Establish a Hierarchy of Civic Honours

Up until the end of the 320s, the Agora contained no more than a dozen honorific statues, most of them concentrated around the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, a respectful distance away from the effigies of the Tyrannicides.[41] Although it no longer stood in isolation, the group sculpted by Critius and Nesiotes was thus not subjected to any direct topographical competition. According to most historians and epigraphists, this privileged situation persisted despite everything, throughout the entire Hellenistic period (with the notable exception of the Antigonid sovereigns), with a number of honorific decrees in their honour containing clauses expressly forbidding any honorand from erecting a statue alongside the Tyrannicides.[42] This rule was even said to have been considered by the Athenians to be important enough to be noted in their laws during the Hellenistic period: numerous decrees in the second half of the second century thus specify that effigies can be erected 'where the laws do not forbid it'[43] or 'except where the laws forbid it'.[44] Seen from this angle, the statues of Antigonus the One-eyed and Demetrius Poliorcetes would simply have constituted exceptions that proved the rule.

However, it seems to me possible to question this somewhat irenic tale according to which the Athenian people insisted throughout the Hellenistic period that an exclusion zone around the Tyrannicides should be respected. During the troubled period from the end of the Lamian War (323–322 B.C.) down to the Chremonidean War (268–261 B.C.), the citizens made this sector a space reserved to mark the distinction of those who could lay claim to having acted as 'Liberators'. There are numerous indications that suggest this to have been the case; and they deserve to be examined.

A TURNING POINT: THE MOMENT OF DEMETRIUS OF PHALERON (317–307)

Let us start this detailed review by examining a moment that is often left out of studies on the history of honours in the Greek world.[45] Between 317 and 307, Athens experienced a veritable revolution in its honorific practices, and this played a crucial role in the trivialisation of public statuary. Demetrius of Phaleron, installed at the head of the city by the Macedonian Cassander, in a short space of time found himself presented with several hundred effigies (Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, 5.75). This is an episode that epigraphists often seem inclined to neglect, no doubt because it is attested only by literary sources. These, however, are very numerous and mostly in agreement.[46] This intense statuary propaganda must have concentrated particularly upon the Agora, although it also spread to the demes of Attica.[47] Although we do not know their precise location (for almost all were torn down when Demetrius of Phaleron was toppled[48]), it is not impossible, given their number, that some may have been close to the tyrannicides' monument.

This argument *a silentio* is certainly very fragile, especially since we know of an honorific decree that was passed in the same period and appears to indicate the contrary. In 314/313, the Athenians allotted a statue to the satrap of Caria, Asandrus of Macedonia, who was close to Cassander, and they added the following clause: '[He is permitted] to set up a bronze equestrian statue of himself in the Agora anywhere he wishes, except beside Harmodius and Aristogiton.'[49]

Is this irrefutable evidence that the space surrounding the group remained up to that point inviolate? To believe so would be to forget all the other honorific statues that were approved during those same years, not only for Demetrius of Phaleron but also for Cassander.[50] Were the two strong men of Athens subject to the same restrictions as Asandrus? That seems doubtful, for it would imply the same treatment for a Macedonian sovereign as for one of his subordinates. That is certainly a speculative argument, but what followed in Athenian honorific history certainly seems to me to substantiate it.

NEW NEIGHBOURS? THE 'LIBERATOR' KINGS AND THE TYRANNICIDES (307–267)

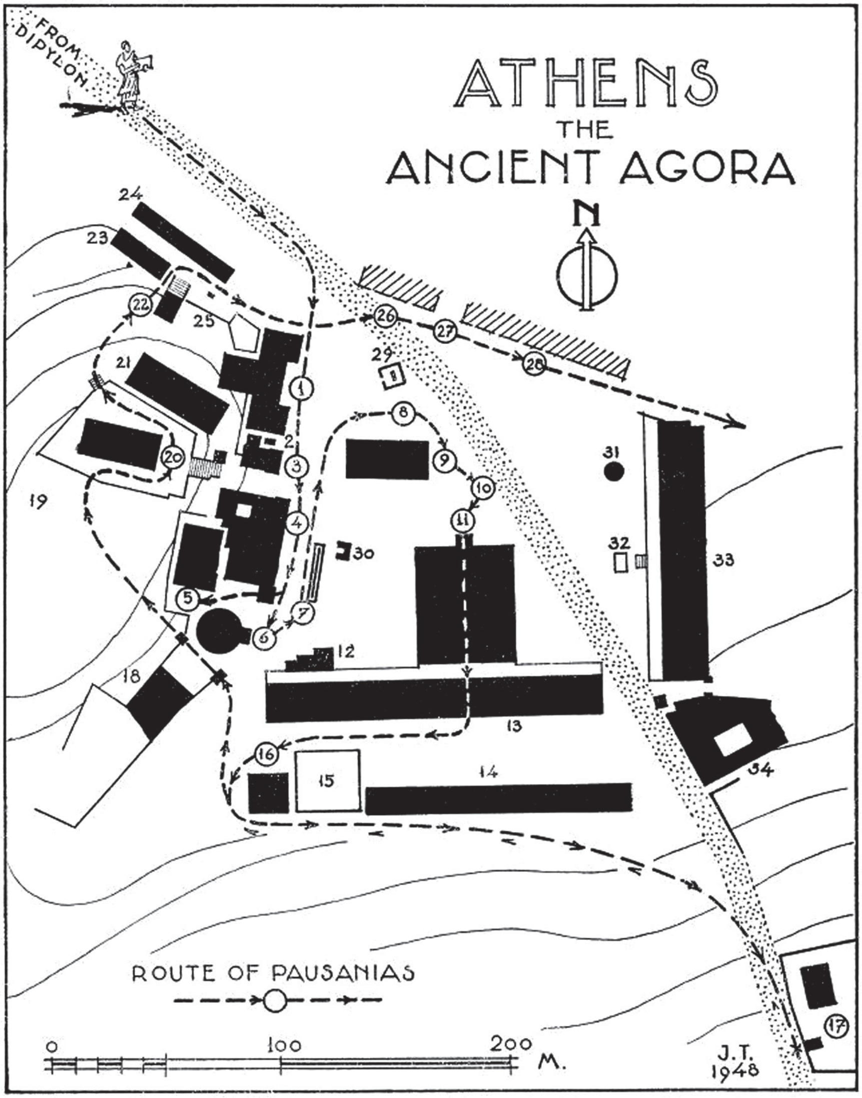
In 307, the city was liberated, thanks to the decisive aid of Demetrius Poliorcetes, and democracy was re-established. The Athenians now regained control of their public space, as is suggested by the honorific decree passed posthumously for Lycurgus, upon the instigation of Stratocles of Diomeia. The inscription, dated 307/306, specified that the orator's statue should stand in the Agora 'except where the law forbids it from standing [*plēn ei pou ho nomos apagoreuei mē histanai*]'.[51] Yet, in precisely the same year and on the initiative of the same proposer, the Athenians transgressed that prohibition in the most flagrant manner by allowing statues of Demetrius Poliorcetes and his father to stand within contact of the Tyrannicides. Most commentators dismiss the contradiction (if they mention it at all) by presenting the honours granted to the Antigonid sovereigns as a one-off *hapax*, a transgression without follow-up. That seems to me to be an error of perspective.

What is revealed by the bizarre synchronism between the decree in honour of Lycurgus (prohibiting the erection of his statue anywhere near the Tyrannicides) and the vote in favour of the effigies of Antigonus and Demetrius (on the contrary, in that very location) is the introduction of a hierarchy of honours that drew a distinction between 'liberating kings' and all other benefactors. It might prove revealing to interpret in the same fashion another inscription that is often invoked to demonstrate the supposed inviolability of the space surrounding the Tyrannicides. In 295/294, the Athenians awarded citizenship and the greatest of honours to Herodorus, a man close to Demetrius Poliorcetes, in recognition of the mediation favourable to the city that he had secured by negotiating with Antigonus and his son. As in the case of Asandrus twenty years earlier, he was granted the right to erect a bronze statue wherever he wished on the Agora except close 'by Harmodius and Aristogeit/[on and the Sav]iours'.[52] It seems to me that that prohibition was designed chiefly to avoid any possible confusion between the distinctions granted to the Antigonid sovereigns and the honours that were voted for their subordinates.

The decrees for Asandrus and Herodorus undoubtedly reflect a symbolic reconfiguration of the Agora rather than a concern for the sacrosanct nature of the statuary group; and that is the case for two reasons. In the first place, the appearance of clauses of exclusion shows that the inviolability of the Tyrannicides now no longer went without saying. Up to the end of the fourth century, such a rule would not have had to be expressed, quite simply because breaking it was inconceivable. Secondly, those clauses manifest, not so much a desire at all costs to defend the sacredness of the monument, but rather a concern to distinguish between the statues that possessed a right to stand close to it and those that did not.

This analysis seems to me to be corroborated by what we can surmise about Athenian honorific practices from 338 B.C. onward. Thanks to Pausanias' account, we possess information that testifies to the altogether relative nature of the prohibition that protected the statuary group from the very start of the Hellenistic period. Immediately after mentioning the effigies of the Tyrannicides, Pausanias continues his description, declaring (1.8.6): 'Before the entrance of the theatre which they call the Odeum [of Agrippa] are statues of Egyptian kings. They are all alike called Ptolemy, but each has his own surname.' The author identifies three of them: Ptolemy Soter (305–283 B.C.), Philadelphus (283–246 B.C.), and Philometor (certainly Ptolemy IX Philometor II Soter II, 88–80 B.C.)[53], to which should be added an effigy of Arsinoe II, the sister-wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and a statue of Berenice, one of the daughters of Ptolemy IX. Nor is that all. Close by can be found the statues of Lysimachus (one of Alexander the Great's *diadochi*), and Pyrrhus (king of the Molossi from 297 to 272). To these, Pausanias devotes long passages once he has finished with 'the Egyptian kings'.[54] All these royal effigies (together with portraits of Alexander the Great and Philip II) are thus situated alongside the Tyrannicides group (figs. 8.1 and 8.2), unless we assume (I do not) that they were erected, not to the north of the Odeon, as Pausanias' description suggests, but to the south of that building not far from the South Stoa.[55]

Reading Pausanias, one gets the impression that the statuary group was surrounded by quite a few statues of kings and dynasts and had been so ever


FROM DIPYLON
ATHENS
THE
ANCIENT AGORA
N
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
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16
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31
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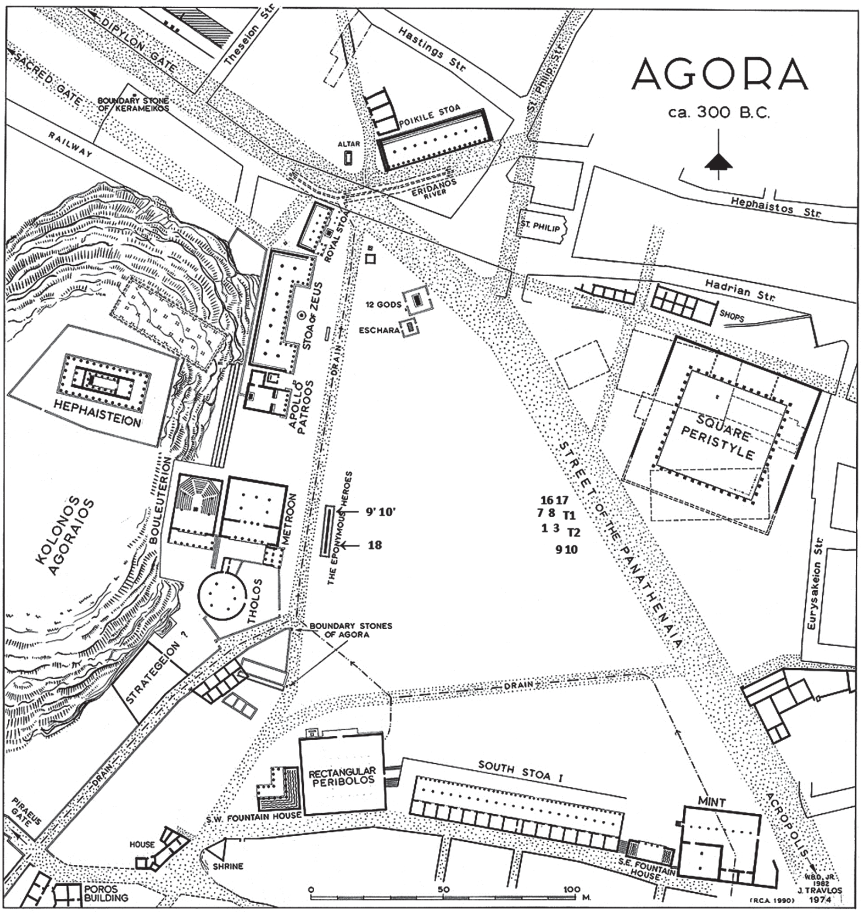
33
34
ROUTE OF PAUSANIAS
0
100
200
M.
J.T.
1948

⑨ Temple of Ares
⑩ Statues of the Tyrannicides (approximate position)
⑪ Odeon

FIGURE 8.1 The supposed route taken by Pausanias on the Agora of Athens.

From Vanderpool (1949) 130.


AGORA
ca. 300 B.C.
DIPYLON GATE
SACRED GATE
Theseion Str.
BOUNDARY STONE OF KERAMEIKOS
RAILWAY
Hastings Str.
POIKILE STOA
ALTAR
ERIDANOS RIVER
St. Philip Str.
Hephaistos Str.
ST. PHILIP
ROYAL STOA
12 GODS
ESCHARA
STOA OF ZEUS
Hadrian Str.
SHOPS
HEPHAISTEION
APOLLO PATROOS
DRAIN
SQUARE PERISTYLE
STREET OF THE PANATHENAIA
BOULEUTERION
KOLONOS AGORAIOS
METROON
THE EPONYMOUS HEROES
9' 10'
18
16 17
7 8 T1
1 3 T2
9 10
THOLOS
BOUNDARY STONES OF AGORA
Eurysakeion Str.
STRATEGEION ?
DRAIN
RECTANGULAR PERIBOLOS
SOUTH STOA I
MINT
ACROPOLIS
PIRAEUS GATE
S.W. FOUNTAIN HOUSE
HOUSE
SHRINE
POROS BUILDING
S.E. FOUNTAIN HOUSE
0 50 100 M.
W.B.D. JR. 1982
J. TRAVLOS 1974
(R.C.A. 1990)

T1 and T2 : approximate position of the Tyrannicides of Antenor and of the Tyrannicides of Critius and Nesiotes
1 & 3 : Philip II and Alexander the Great
7 : Lysimachus
8 : Pyrrhus
9 & 10; 9' & 10': Demetrius Poliorcetes and Antigonus the One-eyed
16 : Ptolemy II
17 : Ptolemy II & Berenice
18 : Ptolemy III

FIGURE 8.2 The Agora of Athens around 250 B.C.: the Tyrannicides and the royal statues. The numbers refer to the catalogue established by H. Kotsidu.

According to Kotsidu (2000) 654 (the positioning of the statues of Demetrius Poliorcetes and Antigonus the One-eyed [no. 9] has been slightly modified, as the author placed the two groups of Tyrannicides too far to the north, next to the monument of the Antigonids).

since the early third century B.C. Nevertheless, a number of objections may be raised against a hypothesis such as this, which questions the very existence of any zone of exclusion surrounding the Tyrannicides. In the first place, some scholars have claimed that all those royal statues were certainly situated in the neighbourhood of the monument, but not directly adjacent to it.[56] It is indeed quite possible that the statues mentioned by Pausanias were not all directly in contact with the Tyrannicides, but were scattered around a fairly extensive area, forming a kind of ill-defined halo. However, that objection is far from conclusive: given that this sector of the Agora as yet contained no other sizable monument, passers-by would necessarily include in a single gaze statues positioned barely a few metres away (fig. 8.2). Furthermore, with the return of Antenor's group (which at least doubled the occupied area of ground surrounding the monument), it had become even more difficult to erect another statue in this zone without its connection with the Tyrannicides becoming obvious to spectators.

Other scholars have suggested that the royal statues mentioned by Pausanias had been shifted between the time of their erection and the period in the mid–second century A.D., when Pausanias visited Athens.[57] And it is quite true that such a phenomenon is attested both on the Agora of Athens[58] and also in a number of other Greek cities in the late Hellenistic period, as for example in Priene in Ionia.[59] Either the construction of the Odeon or the installation of the temple of Ares in the first century B.C. could indeed have brought about a rearrangement of all these royal statues within a single zone, in order to clear the ground for the new constructions.[60] Here again, although the objection is a strong one, it can easily be turned on its head: there is nothing to prevent one from believing that the siting of the Odeon and the Temple of Ares (which are installed on either side of the Tyrannicides) was partly determined by a desire to respect this space that was so valuable symbolically.[61]

However, over and above the circumstantial replies that may be provided for the queries of observers of all kinds,[62] it seems to me above all more economical, at an intellectual level, to take Pausanias' account seriously and to try to grasp the logic that may have prompted the installation of these royal statues so close to the Tyrannicides. That proximity is, in truth, less disconcerting than it may seem; in fact it is even quite coherent if one takes the trouble to examine the nature of the relations between Athens and the sovereigns honoured in this way. Each of those kings could well lay claim to the title of city-liberator and, on that account, could find his place not far from Harmodius and Aristogiton.

We have already considered the cases of Philip II and Alexander.[63] The fact that it was possible for them to be honoured quite close to the Tyrannicides would not have appeared incongruous, given that both father and son deliberately presented themselves as defenders of the liberty of the Greeks, as they fought against the Persian enemy and since, furthermore, it was probably Alexander who restored the Antenor group to the Athenians. Indeed, this choice of position would have made particular sense, given that the two statues appear to have been set up alongside each other, as Pausanias' text indeed suggests[64]: so, at a visual level, father and son would have formed a pair to balance the Tyrannicides, in accordance with a tradition initiated by Conon and Evagoras.

A few years later, Ptolemy Soter was likewise able to claim to be a 'liberator' of the city: by distributing grain and money at a time when both were in disastrously short supply, the Ptolemaic sovereign had played a decisive role during the revolt that had led to the liberation of 287, when Athens freed itself from the yoke imposed by Demetrius Poliorcetes, who, having started off as a liberator, had soon turned into an oppressor.[65] During this same period, Lysimachus had also manifested generosity toward the city,[66] at the same time helping to eject Demetrius Poliorcetes from Athens.[67] Pyrrhus, at this point allied with Lysimachus, had likewise supported the revolt, thereby kindling the enthusiasm of the grateful Athenian crowd when he entered the town in 287 B.C.[68] Given the role that all these sovereigns had played in the liberation of the city, it would have been in no way surprising for them to be honoured in that prestigious sector of the Agora.

Ptolemy II, who was likewise honoured by an effigy in the same sector, presented a similar profile. Having become joint ruler around 285 and then sole king after 283, this Ptolemaic sovereign manifested an unfailing solidarity with Athens, in particular at the time of the Chremonidean War that set the city in opposition to Antigonos Gonatas, the son and successor of Demetrius Poliorcetes. In the decree of Chremonides passed by vote in the summer of 268, the Athenians thus congratulated Ptolemy on having always, like the Athenians and the Spartans before him, acted 'against those who were trying to enslave [*katadoulousthai*] the cities' and for having shown 'his concern for the common freedom of the Greeks [*huper tēs koinēs tōn Hellēnōn eleutherias*]'.[69] Conversely, in the same inscription, Gonatas found himself likened to a new Xerxes against whom the Greeks were urged to unite, as at the time of the Persian Wars.[70] Within this Manichean atmosphere, it is easier to understand how it was that the Ptolemaic ruler and his sister-wife (likewise praised in the decree) were awarded an effigy close to the Tyrannicides, who, as we should remember, also symbolised resistance against Persian aggression.[71]

By the early Hellenistic period, the area around the Tyrannicides was already quite cluttered (fig. 8.2), and by the mid–third century, no fewer than thirteen statues were probably to be found clustered within the same space: alongside Antenor's effigies and the bronzes by Critius and Nesiotes were the monument for Demetrius Poliorcetes and Antigonus the One-eyed and, not far off, the statues of the two first Ptolemies, of Arsinoe II plus, in all probability, the effigies of Philip II, Alexander, Lysimachus, and Pyrrhus. By now, with our analysis concluded, the supposed exclusion zone surrounding the Tyrannicides can be seen to be what it truly was: a historiographical fantasy.[72] For, in truth, this sector operated as a magnet for the portraits of Hellenistic sovereigns who could advantageously pose as liberators and thereby set themselves apart from the other benefactors whose statues stood on the Agora.[73]

MIDDLE GROUND: THE EFFIGIES IN THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE KINGS AND THE CITY

How should we interpret this phenomenon? We have at our disposal a native interpretation, the one provided by Polybius. In his *Histories* (5.106.6–8), the Achaean historian disapprovingly notes the exorbitant honours granted by the Athenian city:

> The Athenians were now [since 287 B.C.] delivered from the fear of Macedonia and regarded their liberty as securely established. Following the policy and inclinations of their leading statesmen, Eurycleidas and Micion, they took no part in the affairs of the rest of Greece, but were profuse in their adulation [*exekechounto*] of all the kings, and chiefly of Ptolemy, consenting to every variety of decree and proclamation [*psēphismatōn kai kērugmatōn*] however humiliating, and paid little heed to decency [*tou kathēkontos*] in this respect owing to the lack of judgement of their leaders.

Was it the positioning of the honorific effigies, so close to the Tyrannicides, that the historian found particularly shocking and contrary to 'what was decent'? Maybe, but we cannot be certain, for Polybius' remarks remain very general.

Whether or not Polybius had the Tyrannicides in mind actually matters little. But his judgement does seem to apply to the use to which the Athenians put the statuary group in the first half of the third century. Seen from this unflattering point of view, the city would appear to have sullied the memory of Harmodius and Aristogiton and neutralised the transgressive figures that they represented: flanked by a whole procession of protector-kings, the effigies of Harmodius and Aristogiton found their meaning radically changed, so that they now embodied a liberty that was safeguarded from outside.

However, to look no further than this disenchanted view would be to fail to appreciate the dialectical (and dialogical) dimension to all this honorific discourse to which Jean-Marie Bertrand and John Ma have drawn attention.[74] For the exchange effectively led in two directions: while the Hellenistic kings derived from their contact with the Tyrannicides group strong testimony to support their legitimacy, the city hoped, in return, to get them to accept a number of civic values and in particular to respect what the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton continued, despite everything, to embody: namely, the city's independence. So, by authorising the erection of a certain number of effigies in this sector, the Athenians were not simply 'grovelling' before the Macedonian sovereigns (to borrow the dire expression used by Polybius), but were endeavouring to establish grounds for agreement with them, based on a shared ideal of liberty.[75]

Clearly, the dialogue with benefactors did not always proceed satisfactorily, and some Hellenistic kings refused to allow themselves to be shut in the 'gilded cage' that the city offered them.[76] In this respect, Demetrius Poliorcetes deployed a consummate art of misunderstanding that enabled him to receive the highest honours without reciprocating with the slightest concession, even of a symbolic nature. One anecdote provides a perfect illustration of this dialogue of the deaf: in 304, the Athenians welcomed the sovereign as a saviour and even went so far as to open up the back hall of the Parthenon (the *opisthodomos*) for him (Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 23.3–24.1). In response to this unheard-of honour that placed him on the same level as Athena (and did so even though the Parthenon really played no truly religious role), Demetrius responded by using the building as a place for debauched revelry[77]! Was that just a matter of going over the top, as Plutarch the moralist suggested? No, it was above all a way for the king to convey that he had no intention of fulfilling the expectations of the city which, by housing him there, was trying to persuade him to be a protector as attentive as the poliadic goddess herself.

Sometimes the honorific bargaining proved more successful. For example, Pyrrhus managed to engage in a respectful dialogue with the Athenians following the liberation of the city in 287 B.C. (Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 12.4)[78]:

> [. . .] he went to the help of the Greeks and entered Athens. Here he went up to the Acropolis and sacrificed to the goddess, then came down again on the same day and told the people he was well pleased with the confidence and goodwill [*eunoian kai pistin*] which they had shown him, but that in future, if they were wise, they would not admit any one of the kings into their city nor open their gates to him.

Let us try to unpack this incident that Plutarch reports in a compressed way.[79] The Athenians welcomed the king of Epirus in accordance with a well-ordered procedure that involved three successive stages: an official invitation to offer up a sacrifice, a speech delivered before the people, and, in the course of the same assembly, a vote of honours.[80] Thanks to the information offered by Pausanias, we are lucky enough to know the nature of one of the honours offered him on this occasion: a statue not far from the Tyrannicides group (Pausanias, 1.11.1).[81] Bearing all this in mind, the king's speech then takes on a different tone. Pyrrhus, now lecturing his audience, shows how seriously he takes the honour done to him. Let us even risk a conjecture: if the sovereign advised the Athenians not to 'admit any one of the kings into their city', this may have been a direct reference to the vote that had allowed him a statue close to Harmodius and Aristogiton. In this way, beneath a moral veneer, the anecdote shows that it was in truth possible to create 'a middle ground' between the kings and the city,[82] with room for agreement within which each party could take a step toward the other and speak a common language.

In the first half of the third century, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton thus became an important element in the ever-precarious dialogue between the kings and the city. More generally, the use of the statuary group makes it possible to throw new light on a section of the political life of Athens at a crucial moment when the city needed to reconcile its own democratic heritage, the oligarchical inclinations of its élites, and the monarchical dynamic created by Alexander's conquests. Even if the city preserved its control over the attribution of honours, it still had to humour the new leaders of the Hellenistic world, even to the point of gratifying them with unprecedented rewards. Accordingly, a two-speed control system was now set up.[83] While, within the city, the Athenian élites remained under the control of the people, the Hellenistic kings were not always subject to the same constraints and might, in certain cases, receive the exorbitant honour of a statue placed close to the Tyrannicides. It would be mistaken to regard this as a misuse of the statuary group purely for the ends of vile flattery: because they continued to convey an image of liberation, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton actively contributed to the creation of a middle ground with the Hellenistic kings. Far from being neutralised, the statues thus preserved a powerful political charge in the mid–third century.

This development nevertheless did not leave the meaning of the group unscathed. As a result of being associated with the foreign sovereigns, the Tyrannicides little by little forfeited their purely Athenian character and became the symbols of an increasingly abstract liberty. It was perhaps this development that favoured the export of the Tyrannicide motif throughout the Mediterranean: cut off from their homeland, the Tyrannicides could now be appropriated in many different ways: religious (in Rhodes), political (in Erythrae and Ilium), and cultural (in Paros and Chios).

Decontextualisation: The Tyrannicides in the Mediterranean

RELIGIOUS FERVOUR: THE TYRANNICIDES IN RHODES

In this great opening-up process, the triumphal return of Antenor's statues without doubt played a crucial role. On this occasion, this statuary group was conveyed over thousands of kilometres all the way from Susa, in Iran, to Athens. It is not possible to map the statues' precise route, but they certainly travelled right across Asia, possibly passing through Syria before reaching the Aegean islands, and ending up in Attica. It was a long journey that must certainly have taken several weeks or even months. The information provided by Valerius Maximus (*Memorable Doings and Sayings*, 2.10.ext.1) allows us a glimpse of the fervour aroused by the passing of the convoy: 'The Rhodians too invited them [the statues of Antenor] as public guests when they touched at their city and even put them on sacred couches [*sacris etiam in puluinaribus conlocauerunt*].'

The return of the statues thus involved, not just a geographical transfer, but also a symbolic journey. Between its capture by the Persians and its triumphal return to Athens, Antenor's group made a journey that resembled a rite of passage: following a long and trying period in Asia, the liberated effigies acceded to a new status that was symbolised by the religious honours that they received. The Rhodians are believed to have treated them as gods or heroes (in the same manner as the Dioscuri, that other famous pair[84]) and offered them sacred meals at the time of the *theoxenia.*[85] According to Valerius Maximus, the return of the group had all the makings of a consecration.

Inaccurate though it may be, the anecdote is probably based on the truth. The fact was that it was in the interest of the generous restorer who brought the group back (whether this was Alexander or some Seleucid king) to surround his action with as much publicity as possible, for this was a fine opportunity to parade his attachment to the idea of 'liberty for the Greek cities', as a popular slogan of the time put it.[86] So it is quite possible that, on the way back, the convoy made many stops, in the course of which Greeks were invited to contemplate the liberated statues and celebrate the magnanimity of the sovereign. The cities through which the convoy passed must have been keen to play their part, since they, too, could expect great symbolic profits to accrue from their momentary association with the two 'Liberators'. It was not simply by chance that Valerius Maximus chose to draw attention to the reaction of the Rhodians: these were the very embodiment of a kind of stubborn resistance to the Hellenistic kings, a fact owing to which they were able to preserve their independence throughout the period.[87]

By the end of this return journey with initiatory overtones, the Tyrannicides' statues had won themselves a place in the political imagination of the Hellenistic world far beyond their country of origin, but no longer did that place have the alarming aspect that it might have had at the time of the Delian League, when the statues adorned the coins of Cyzicus (fig. A.4) and embodied the imperial domination of Athens.[88] Instead, they were now seen as the agreed defenders of 'the liberty of the Greek cities', standing up against all forms of subjection.

POLITICAL CIRCULATION: THE TYRANNICIDES IN ASIA MINOR

It was precisely during these same years that, in Asia Minor, there were laws passed that sanctioned the erection of future tyrannicides, on the model of those representing Harmodius and Aristogiton. There was certainly nothing radically new about this in the Greek world. In the *Hiero* (4.5), a dialogue probably composed in the 360s, Xenophon appears already to recognise that, in most cities, the murderers of tyrants received similar rewards[89]: 'Instead of avenging them, the cities heap honours on the slayer of the tyrant and, whereas they exclude the murderers of private persons from the sanctuaries, the cities, so far from treating assassins in the same manner, actually put up statues of them in their sanctuaries.'[90]

Upon reading Xenophon's account at face value, one might be forgiven for forming the impression that the erection of such effigies was at that time current practice.[91] However, one needs to beware of the element of rhetorical exaggeration that characterises the work of the Athenian author: in this fictional dialogue between the poet Simonides and the Syracusan tyrant Hiero, Xenophon paints an apocalyptic picture of the life of the tyrant (and ascribes it to the tyrant himself), the better then to justify the political changes that he goes on to suggest.[92] It is within this exaggerated context that Hiero claims to be living in perpetual fear of assassination and also to believe that all cities erect statues of their tyrannicides. We should therefore consider with circumspection any allegation intended to emphasise the universal hatred that a tyrant attracted and to justify, as a mirror reflection, his necessary metamorphosis into a benign king.

In actual fact, the granting of such an honour is not attested outside Athens before the second half of the fourth century. In 330 B.C., the orator Lycurgus even made the following emphatic declaration with no fear of being challenged (*Against Leocrates*, 51):

> [. . .] you, Athenians, alone among Greeks know how to honour valiant men. In other cities, you will find, it is the athletes who have their statues in the market place, whereas in yours it is victorious generals and the slayers of tyrants [*tous ton turannon apokteinantas*]: men whose like it is hard to find though we search the whole of Greece for but a few, whereas the winners of contests for a wreath have come from many places and can easily be seen.

Of course in the case of Lycurgus (as indeed in that of Xenophon), we must allow for a measure of exaggeration that is inherent in any forensic speech. And we know that, ten years earlier, the Eretrians had passed a law that foresaw granting future tyrannicides the very highest honours—in particular the erection of a bronze statue.[93] In 330 the Athenians were thus no longer alone in honouring the murderers of tyrants in this manner. Even if there are no grounds for claiming that the Eretrians ever implemented the law that they had passed,[94] the Eretrian law shows that, by the mid–fourth century, the model embodied by the Tyrannicides had begun to be emulated beyond Athens. However, we should also bear in mind that Eretria was only a short distance from Attica, and so testified to only a limited circulation of the Athenian model. It was, in truth, only at the end of the fourth century that this type of honour became diffused throughout the rest of the Aegean world, thereby reflecting the cultural popularity of the Tyrannicides throughout the Mediterranean area.

The statue of Philites of Erythrae, already mentioned, is one of the first to testify to the spread of the phenomenon beyond the central area of Greece. In the first half of the third century, the city voted in favour of the erection of an effigy in honour of this tyrannicide. It soon suffered mutilation at the hands of vengeful oligarchs, but once democracy was re-established in the city, it was restored to its original state.[95] In this same period, a law against tyranny was also passed in Ilium, in the Troad. One of its clauses seems remarkably to echo the honours that were offered to Harmodius and Aristogiton and also to their descendants:

> Whoever kills a tyrant, a leader of an oligarchy, or someone overthrowing the democracy, if he is a citizen [*enarchos*], he shall receive a talent of silver from the polis on that day or the next, and the *dēmos* shall erect a bronze statue in his likeness (*[k]ai eiko[na] chalkēn auto[u st]ē[s]a[i]*). And he shall have free meals [*sitēsis*] in the Prytaneum as long as he lives, and will be called by name to the front seat [*eis proedrian*] in watching the competitions, and two drachmas shall be given to him every day for as long as he lives.[96]

A statue, *proedria* and *sitēsis*: the law decreed the granting of the *megistai timai* to any citizen who killed a tyrant, and to this it added specified monetary awards, which was a sign of the times and indicated the new compatibility between honours and money, *charis* and *misthos.*[97] In this respect, the arrangement seems directly inspired by the Athenian honorific system, and it reflects the creation of honorific norms that were recognised throughout the Greek world.[98] More widely, this law testifies to the power acquired by anti-tyrannical ideology in the eastern Mediterranean, and furthermore, it does so in the absence of any particular danger at the time, for no tyrant is attested in Ilium (although, admittedly, we know very little of the political life of that city in this period).[99]

While the Athenian Tyrannicides were acquiring an increasingly ordinary aura, a homogeneous anti-tyrannical culture was thus spreading throughout the Mediterranean area.[100] The two synchronous processes deserve to be analysed as mirror-images at this time when the statuary group was simultaneously finding its place within the cultural patrimony of the wider Greek world, as can be attested by two inscriptions discovered in the Aegean islands.

CULTURAL PATRIMONIALISATION: THE PARIAN MARBLE AND THE CHIOS EPIGRAM

The *Marmor Parium* (Parian Marble) discovered on the island of Paros also testifies to this 'internationalisation' of the image of the Tyrannicides,[101] and it adds an extra nuance to it. In this epigraphical chronicle of the Greek world from earliest times right down to 264/263 B.C., Harmodius and Aristogiton are mentioned twice, first as the assassins of Hipparchus, then as statues set up in the Agora.[102] Although this Parian Chronicle does not really amount to a 'universal history',[103] given that the Athenian imprint is so strong,[104] it does inscribe the history of the group within the wider Mediterranean horizon and, better still, installs it in majesty within the cultural patrimony of the Greek world as a whole. For the inscription does not simply evoke the great political and military events of the past, granting considerable space to intellectual inventions and achievements of all kinds[105]: significantly enough, its mention of the effigies of Harmodius and Aristogiton is inserted just after a reference to the victory won by Simonides of Ceos in a poetry competition (F 54) and immediately before an allusion to the poet Epicharmus (F 55).[106] An uninterrupted reading of the inscription thus encourages one to appreciate the statuary group as much for its cultural value as for its political significance.

The process of patrimonialisation (in this case, the transformation of a highly political statue into an object that is part of the Greek cultural patrimony and deserves to be remembered by one and all) is clearly detectable in another fragmentary inscription, this time one found in Chios and dated to the end of the third century or the beginning of the second B.C.:

> The Athenians [?] decided to set this up [. . .]
> (as a memorial [?] of [Aristo]giton the spearman (and of Harmodius[?])
> Who killed the tyrant (and saved the freedom [?])
> Offering their souls . . . (and restored their fatherland [?])[107]

Ever since the discovery of the inscription, the attention of commentators has been focussed on two questions: Are these lines inspired by an epigram engraved on an Athenian monument, and, if they are, which one? Several hypotheses have been suggested. According to Andrei Lebedev, the original poem adorned the cenotaph of Harmodius and Aristogiton in the Ceramicus[108] and may have been composed by Ion of Chios, a son of that island, in the mid–fifth century.[109] Joseph Day is of the opinion that it is more likely to be a copy of the inscription placed on the base of Antenor's statues after their return to Athens.[110] Finally, according to Constantine Trypanis, the fragment is simply a stylistic exercise with no real referent at all, like so many other Hellenistic epigrams that purport to refer to some precise monument even if they are not engraved upon it.[111]

In the present state of the documentation, the argument seems insoluble. Perhaps, before making any suggestion, we should start by taking into account an element that is crucial for interpreting the text. Far from being an isolated item, the poem was part of a collection of seven epigrams engraved, one after another, on the same stone but referring to a great variety of subjects. Let us assess them. Although the first lines are too fragmentary to be given any sense at all, epigram no. 2 refers to a statue (*eikōn*) erected in honour of a certain Philiskus by a grateful disciple (or possibly by one of his children); the next epigram (no. 3), in Dorian dialect, is a funerary eulogy in praise of a certain Diocles (possibly a doctor); next comes the poem about the tyrannicides (no. 4), which is immediately followed by a list of the Greek world's largest islands (no. 5), and then a fictional epigram in honour of Odysseus (no. 6). The collection ends with a piece celebrating the first victory won in a competition by an unknown youth who is the son of a certain Xouthus (no. 7). A funerary inscription, an honorific epigram, a list, and an epinician poem: so the reader has been going through a series of unconnected texts that share nothing but a certain formal virtuosity. Seen in this light, the list would seem to favour the opinion of Constantine Trypanis; the epigram on the tyrannicides could well be simply a fictitious literary composition similar to the funerary epigram about Odysseus (no. 6), which was connected with no identifiable building and simply belonged to some conventional literary tradition.[112]

On what occasion and for what purpose was this heterogeneous collection of texts engraved in Chios in around 200 B.C.? Two hypotheses are worth considering. First, the inscription might constitute a collection of winning epigrams in a local poetry competition. The tyrannicides may in this case have been a subject suitable for poets short of inspiration. The second possibility is that the inscription constituted a kind of school anthology displayed in a gymnasium or on the walls of some private luxury school in Chios.[113] Harmodius and Aristogiton would in that case have served as *exempla* offered for the edification of the city youths. In either of the two cases (a memorial for a poetry competition or an edifying school text) the tyrannicides would have been invoked as figures from the cultural Greek patrimony and included in a collection of what were agreed to be panhellenic references. Removed from its original context in this way, the epigram would have seemed, not a call for murder or an ode to radical democracy, but rather a fine subject of meditation for all citizens, both young and not so young.[114]

Embalmed in this way, the tyrannicides could be exported beyond their original Athenian sphere of influence,[115] which included the island of Chios, and into the Aegean Sea or to the city of Olbia on the shores of the Black Sea, where another epigram inspired by the tyrannicides has been discovered, although it is in too mutilated a condition to inspire any historical conclusions that are at all trustworthy.[116] In the first century B.C., however, Harmodius and Aristogiton indeed made the journey to Rome, where a copy of the group was installed on the Capitol, thereby giving the 'Roman career' of the Tyrannicides a fine kick-start.

9}

Forever Young

THE USES OF THE STATUARY GROUP IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

> *Greeks give the honours of the gods to those men who have slain tyrants. What have I not seen at Athens? What in the other cities of Greece? What divine honours have I not seen paid to such men? What odes, what songs [*carmina*] have I not heard in their praise? They are almost consecrated to immortality in the memories and worship of men.*
>
> —Cicero, *For Milo*, 80.

This lyrical flight of oratory of Cicero's, delivered in 52 B.C., in a context of incipient civil war, was intended to win the acquittal of his client, Milo, who stood accused of having assassinated Clodius, the leader of the *populares.* The orator's argument might at first sight seem astonishing: what a very strange idea it was to appeal to the Greek anti-tyrannical tradition in order to justify the murder of a recognised defender of the *populus romanus*! But perhaps, in doing so, Cicero showed himself to be a skilled connoisseur of Greek political thinking: by assimilating Clodius to a potential tyrant, the orator was adapting a Platonic pattern of thought according to which democracy was bound to generate tyranny.[1] His tirade reveals the ambivalent fascination that the image of the tyrannicides at the time exerted on the Romans. It was an image sufficiently close for Cicero to be able to draw on it in order to convince his fellow-citizens (or at least the members of the jury, who were recruited from amongst the senators, knights, and tribunes of the treasury), yet sufficiently distant for him to present it as a fundamentally foreign model.

The fortunes of the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton in the Roman period enable us to form a clear idea of the distance between the Greek model and its Roman reception and, using this concrete case, to study the interplay of reciprocal influences and interactions that come to light. In what ways did the Tyrannicides influence the Romans, in particular the Roman aristocrats? And, conversely, how did the irruption of Roman power affect this statuary group?

Initially, the relationship between the Athenians and the Romans had flourished under the best of auspices, for it was thanks to Rome's intervention that Athens recovered the island of Delos in late 167 or at the start of the following year.[2] While the Hellenistic kingdoms gradually faded from the Mediterranean scene, and Roman control over the Greek world grew ever stronger, the city experienced unprecedented prosperity, and meanwhile Delos became the hub of Mediterranean trade, positioned as it was as the principal relay station between Italy and the new Roman province of Asia.[3] In a prosperous (and no doubt increasingly oligarchic) Athens, the Tyrannicides sank into slumber and throughout the second century B.C., totally vanished from the sources, while the *polis* nevertheless continued to produce numerous inscriptions. Perhaps we should detect in this absence of documentation an Athenian disinclination to use a reference still encumbered with an aura of sedition. As for the Romans, even as, for their own use, they took over the famous slogan of 'liberty for the Greek cities', they seem to have paid hardly any attention to the statuary group.[4]

In the first century B.C., there was an alarming wind-change, for Athens made a succession of bad decisions that tipped her into chaos. In the Mithridatic Wars, Athens sided with the king of Pontus, who had sounded the hour of revolt against Roman domination. The outcome of this bloody conflict, in March 86, was that Sulla entered Athens with his troops and allowed a large proportion of the population to be massacred. At the time of the Roman civil wars, the Athenians again backed the losers, in particular Brutus and Cassius, Caesar's murderers, whom they welcomed with great pomp and ceremony in 44 B.C., thereby attracting the anger of Octavian, the future Augustus.[5]

It was at this time of dire crisis that the Tyrannicides came back into their own and were called upon to play their part within a framework of severely strained diplomacy, seeking to make or repair links with the current Roman leaders. Sulla, the brutal conqueror, was now hailed as a new tyrannicide, while Brutus and Cassius found themselves given statues on the Agora, in the immediate vicinity of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Far from being mere ploys of flattery, these honours were designed to continue the tradition initiated in the Hellenistic period, with the statuary group again helping to establish a dialogue, which, as it happened, the Romans did not spurn.

The age of Augustus marked a turning point in the life of the statuary group. Drowned in an Agora increasingly awash with monuments, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton became a focus of memories, symbolising a past that had once certainly been prestigious but was now long gone. At the same time, they embarked upon a new life, now in the form of marble or bronze copies that stood in the villas of notables in the Roman Empire. Does this development indicate the definitive taming of a monument finally neutralised and, in a way, disarmed by the *Pax Romana*? Upon closer inspection, the statuary group turns out to be more of an ancient still in the green years of his youth. Well into the imperial period, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton were still able to stimulate debate and even to engender new stories—such as the adventures of the *hetaira* Leaina—that were belatedly tacked on to the tyrannicides' saga.

Bellum Civile: The Tyrannicides Revivified

IN ROME: ARISTOGITON ON THE CAPITOL

In 1937, Italian archaeologists in Rome discovered, close to the church of Sant'Omobono, the torso of a marble statue of Aristogiton. In all probability, the effigy had originally stood on the Capitol (fig. 9.1). The headless statue was actually discovered buried in the debris left by the collapse of the south-eastern flank of the hill, not far from fragments of the foundations of a temple of *Fides* and inscriptions dating from the Republican period.[6] The torso is today exhibited in the Centrale Montemartini, where specialists long since attached it to a head of Aristogiton of unknown origin that was formerly preserved in the Vatican Museum (fig. 9.2).[7] Although there is no formal proof that a statue of Harmodius once stood alongside the effigy of Aristogiton, it seems logical to assume that to have been the case.[8]

At what moment and with what purpose was this marble copy of the group by Critius and Nesiotes installed at the top of the Capitoline Hill? Stylistically, the effigy seems to have come straight from the neo-Attic workshops that were active at the end of the Republican period and the start of the Empire. Furthermore, all commentators are in agreement in dating the statue's erection to the first century B.C.; that is to say, the same time as that of the inscriptions found in the course of excavation.[9]

Now we need to pinpoint the chronology and work out the reasons why the Romans set up a portrait of Aristogiton on one of their most sacred sites. Let us start by dismissing one hypothesis. The statue from the Capitol was not conceived as a purely artistic and ornamental sculpture, for the Romans were fully familiar with the history of the Athenian tyrannicides and their effigies[10]; so there was a political dimension to this choice, and we need to elucidate it.

One explanation seems obvious. As Filippo Coarelli has pointed out, the Athenian tyrannicides offered a transparent allegory of the end of monarchy in Rome. As we have noted above, the erection of Antenor's group in Athens was indeed reputed to have coincided with the expulsion from Rome of Tarquin the Proud, in line with a synchronism noticed by Pliny the Elder.[11] The Capitol preserved the memory of this founding event in the history of the *Urbs.* To mark the beginning of the Republican era, the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus had been consecrated immediately after the expulsion of the last king, and it was within this same zone that the Romans had erected a statue in honour of

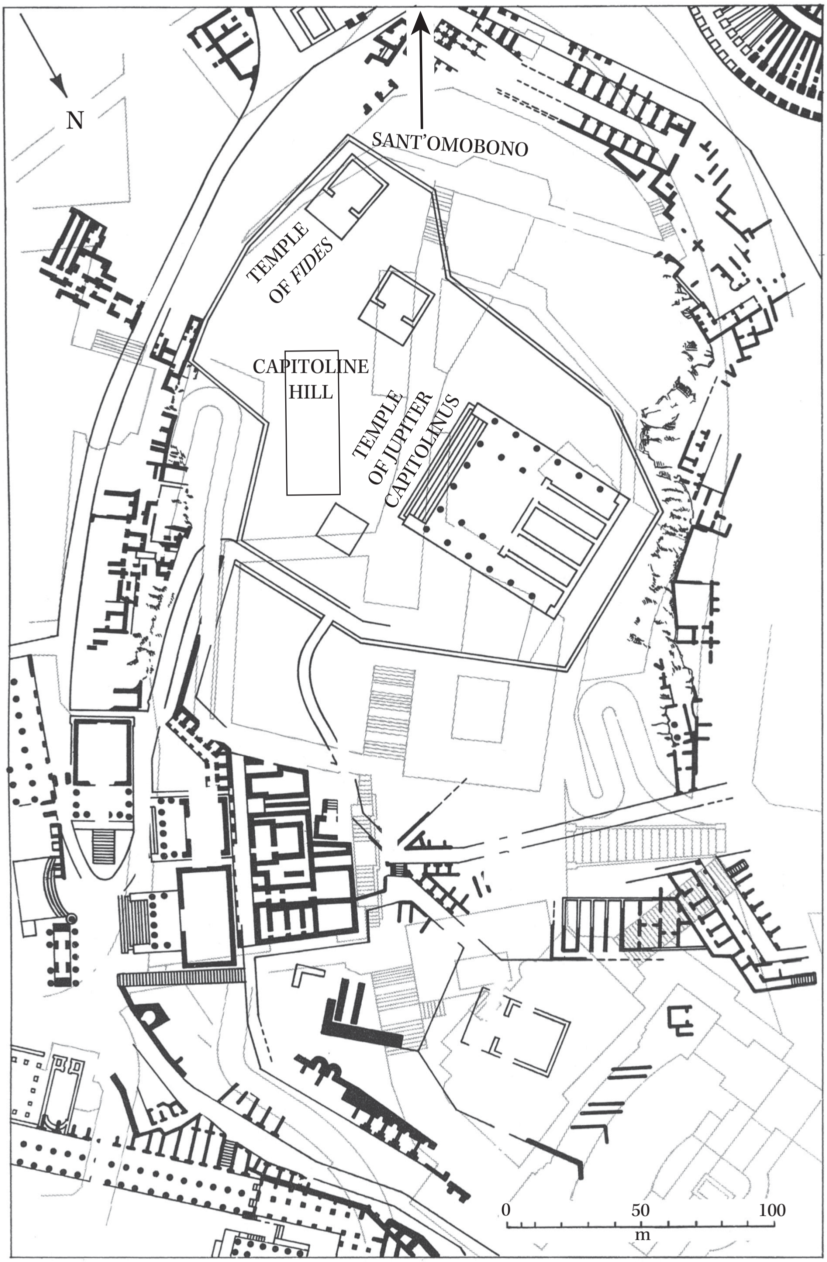

N
SANT'OMOBONO
TEMPLE OF *FIDES*
CAPITOLINE HILL
TEMPLE OF JUPITER CAPITOLINUS
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FIGURE 9.1 Plan of the Capitol of Rome.

From Coarelli (1994) [1980] 28.

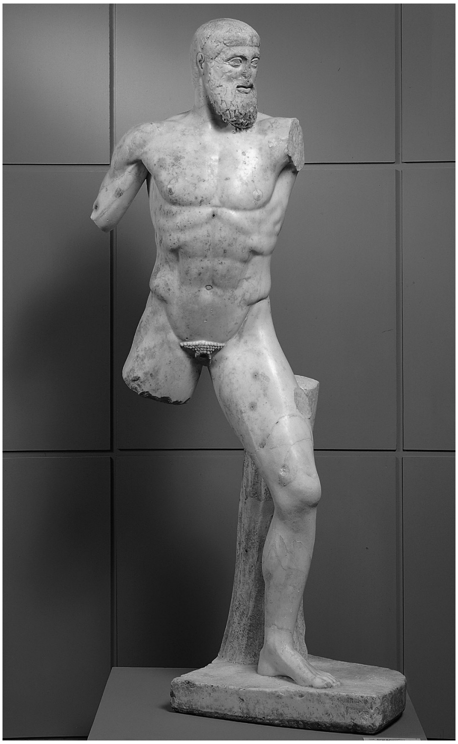

FIGURE 9.2 The statue of Aristogiton from the Capitol.
From Schuchhardt and Landwehr (1986) 113, pl. 21.

Lucius Iunius Brutus, the great adversary of the 'tyrant' Tarquin the Proud.[12] The statue of Aristogiton, either on its own or along with its companion Harmodius, fitted perfectly within this symbolic environment.

At what precise moment was this copy installed? Christa Hees-Landwehr has defended a hypothesis that is at first sight attractive. She suggests that the Athenians sent the effigies of the tyrannicides to Rome, to honour Brutus and Cassius after the murder of Julius Caesar in 44 B.C.[13] We certainly do know that upon their arrival in Attica, Brutus and Cassius were honoured by statues on the Agora, in close proximity to the monument (Cassius Dio, 47.20.4).[14] Hees-Landwehr suggests that, by offering such a gift, the Athenians wished to manifest their support for Caesar's two assassins. The position selected could not have been better chosen, for it was on the Capitol that the conspirators had taken refuge after committing the deed, and this was also the site of the statue of Lucius Iunius Brutus, whose distant descendant Brutus claimed to be.

Attractive though it is, this theory must be rejected, for it is most improbable that, in the confused situation that followed the Ides of March, statues commemorating the assassins of Julius Caesar—even in an oblique fashion—could have been erected in Rome. Besides, it is hard to see how Octavian (the future Emperor Augustus), following the Philippi victory, could have left in place ‘such a monument that constituted a kind of perpetual instigation to political assassination’.[15] It is true that, according to Plutarch, Augustus showed forbearance with respect to the effigy of Brutus set up in Mediolanum, in Cisalpine Gaul.[16] But it is unlikely that he would have manifested the same magnanimity in Rome, on the sacred hill of the Capitol. We should remember that in the time of Emperor Tiberius, Brutus’ family was still denied the right to display *imagines* of the two assassins of Caesar at the funerals of its members.[17]

Almost half a century ago, Filippo Coarelli suggested an alternative solution that certain other scholars have since adopted.[18] They suggest that the Tyrannicides group was erected in 52 B.C. by Metellus Scipio in order to exalt the memory of his ancestor Scipio Nasica, the murderer of Tiberius Gracchus in 133 B.C., in the context of the violent struggle between the *optimates* (the conservative élites of the late Republic) and the *populares* who, with the encouragement of the Gracchi, on the contrary defended the poorest strata of Roman society. This hypothesis is mainly based on a letter from Cicero to Atticus dated February 50 B.C., from which we learn that on the Capitol, Metellus Scipio had consecrated a group of equestrian statues in honour of his ancestors, in particular his great-grandfather Scipio Nasica.[19] By attaching to this family group the effigies of Harmodius and Aristogiton, Metellus Scipio was supposed to have been trying to assimilate his ancestor to a tyrannicide, saving the country in the face of the ‘tyrannical’ aspirations of Tiberius Gracchus, the passionate promoter of agrarian reform.

A whole clutch of arguments is used to support this suggestion. The first is an ideological one. In their writings, the *optimates* were prone to present the Gracchi as potential tyrants,[20] and we even know that Caius Gracchus was explicitly compared to Pisistratus.[21] The next argument is a topographical one: according to tradition, it was on the Capitol that Scipio Nasica had Tiberius Gracchus struck down ‘at the door [of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus] close by the statues of the kings’[22]—the exact site of the statue of Iunius Brutus, the founder of the Republic and the swashbuckling opponent of the tyranny of Tarquin the Proud. Lastly, a circumstantial argument: at the time when Metellus Scipio consecrated the statues of his ancestors (probably during the year of his consulate, 52 B.C.)[23], references to the Athenian tyrannicides were in the air. At the start of the year, the *optimate* Milo had assassinated Clodius, one of the leaders of the *populares,* and in the trial that followed, Cicero had justified the homicide, recalling the divine honours granted, in Greece, to the murderers of tyrants[24]: Harmodius and Milo, one and the same cause! By installing the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton on the Capitol, Metellus Scipio would, it would appear, have killed two birds with one stone, indirectly paying homage to his ancestor[25] while at the same time discreetly justifying Milo, ‘the tyrannicide’.

Unfortunately, this fine construction is extremely fragile. In the first place, Cicero never singles out the statue of Scipio Nasica from the rest of the collection of portraits of Metellus Scipio's ancestors, except to mock the gross errors made by his descendant on the occasion of the dedication. Furthermore, the letter to Atticus makes no mention of either Tiberius Gracchus or the Athenian Tyrannicides, as Cicero would surely have done in the right circumstances.[26] Finally, neither Scipio Nasica nor Metellus Scipio appears to have maintained any particular links with Athens, so it is hard to see why his great-grandson would have resorted to such an 'Attic' reference in order to celebrate the action of his great-grandfather.

The explanation must lie elsewhere, and we should probably return to the hypothesis advanced as early as 1938 by Antonio Maria Colini and since then further elaborated by Christoph Reusser[27]: namely, that the installation of the statue of Aristogiton had been effected by Sulla at the start of the first century B.C. Sulla had played a decisive role in the reconstruction of the Capitol following the fire in July 83, and he took the opportunity to set up, on the south-eastern side of the hill, a triumphal statuary group that celebrated his own conquests in the East.[28] The copies of the Tyrannicides (the fragments of which were found just below that sector) would have fitted perfectly well into this symbolic environment, given that Sulla claimed to be the one who 'liberated' Rome from the tyranny of Marius and Cinna. When on his way to Rome with his legions, in 88 B.C., his reply to the emissaries who came to ask him 'why he was marching with armed forces against his country' was 'to liberate Rome [*eleutherōson*] from tyrants [*apo tōn turannountōn*]' (Appian, *Civil Wars*, 1.57.253). So, for the future dictator, the reference to the Tyrannicides would have been a way of representing himself as a zealous defender of the Republic that was faced with the tyrannical ambitions that he attributed to his rivals.

But before continuing this line of argument, there is one question that calls for clarification: Who could have commissioned this copy that was exhibited on the Capitol? Should we imagine Sulla himself organising a consecration in order to celebrate his own liberationist action, or should we regard the sculpture as a present from the Athenians in gratitude for the 'liberation' of their city in 86 B.C., at the end of the Mithridatic Wars? Even if the origin of the marble used cannot resolve this delicate question,[29] there are strong arguments that favour the idea of an Athenian origin for the copy on the Capitol. In the first place, the torso of Aristogiton was discovered by the archaeologists, along with items from the Temple of *Fides*, which was where the Greek cities and states customarily consecrated offerings to the Roman people,[30] in the same way as the Lycian Confederation, which, after its liberation from Rhodian domination, likewise dedicated a statue for Rome there.[31] But above all (and this is the clinching argument), Sulla was celebrated as a liberator by the Athenians themselves at the end of the Mithridatic Wars, and he may have been explicitly assimilated to the Tyrannicides. In this context, the copy offered to Rome could have been a way of commemorating that flattering association.

To understand the reasons for this strange rapprochement, we must return to Attica and examine the complex political situation in which Athens found itself, following its 'liberation'.

IN ATHENS: THE STATUARY GROUP CONFRONTING ROMAN GENERALS

Sulla the Tyrannicide?

In 88 B.C., Athens made a bad choice and sided with Mithridates. The Epicurean philosopher Aristion dragged the city into a desperate struggle against the Romans, and Sulla, who rushed to the scene, was forced to embark upon a long siege in order to take the city in March 86[32]. Alas for the vanquished: the invaders massacred a huge number of inhabitants and engaged in multiple depredations on the Agora,[33] although the Roman general later boasted that he had saved the city from annihilation.[34] Under Sulla's protection, the Athenian élites who, before 89, had pursued a pro-Roman policy, were restored to control of affairs, while their defeated adversaries were condemned to execration.[35] Aristion was no longer labelled as anything but a 'tyrant'.[36]

Glory to the victors! At some date hard to specify, the Athenians voted to award Sulla honours by establishing the *Sulleia*, a public festival associated with an important competition.[37] It has even been suggested that this took the place of the *Theseia*, which were now replaced by the name of a Roman general.[38] This would have given Sulla the rank of a new founder of the city. At the same time, the Athenians granted their 'liberator' an effigy on the Agora, fragments of the base of which have been found.[39] Was the statue set up close to the Tyrannicides? Although there is no positive proof, a bundle of congruent indications suggest that it was.

In the first place, we know that the area was then undergoing renewed activity, following over a century and a half of repose. Two new effigies were now set up in this zone; namely, a portrait of Ptolemy IX Philometor II Soter II (88–80 B.C.) and of his daughter Cleopatra Berenice III. Pausanias, who reckoned this distinction to be undeserved, remains evasive as to the circumstances of the vote,[40] but it was probably thanks to his support of the Athenians following the terrible siege of 86 that the Egyptian sovereign was honoured in this way.[41] It does not seem to me that it would have been incongruous for Sulla to receive the same privilege as his Ptolemaic ally, particularly given that the Roman leader was assimilated to Theseus, who, as we know, was often associated with Harmodius and Aristogiton.

Furthermore, we know that the image of the Tyrannicides was exploited by the new Athenian authorities, who favoured Sulla. Christian Habicht has accordingly suggested dating to the year 84 the wreath-bearing tetradrachms that displayed Critius' and Nesiotes' statuary group in the right-hand corner (fig. 9.3).[42] These coins, minted under the authority of the magistrates in charge of coinage, Mentor and Moschion, conveyed a transparent symbolic meaning: 'It was possible for the leaders of an oligarchic government to make use of democratic heroes in this fashion because the oligarchy understood itself also as having overthrown a tyrant.'[43]

The impact of that iconographic choice was not purely internal. It also conveyed a message to Sulla, who, in fact, paid a long visit in the city during the second half of the year 84 and was thus able to see for himself the indirect homage that was being rendered to him.[44] So it may have been in these circumstances that the Athenians offered Rome, as a gift, a copy of the Tyrannicides group. According to Christoph Reusser, the decision could have been made in the course of Sulla's stay in Athens in 84, and the gift might have been set up on the Capitol in late 82, following the repairs made necessary by the fire in 83.[45]

Now, finally, we need to interpret the meaning that such an offering held both for the donors and for the recipients. From the point of view of the Romans, the installation of the statuary group symbolised, in the first place, a fine example of 'inclusive otherness': as they contemplated a Greek monument, the Romans were invited to define themselves as perfect Romans who were free, educated, and republican.[46] At a more prosaic level, the monument indirectly celebrated Sulla as the saviour of the *Res publica*, within a sector of the Capitol that was clearly devoted to glorifying him.[47]

As the Athenians saw it, the monument was likewise intended to exalt Sulla as a new liberator and, more generally, to manifest the city's loyalty following the disorder of the Mithridatic Wars. From that point of view, it was certainly not simply by chance that the group was installed close to the Temple of *Fides*,

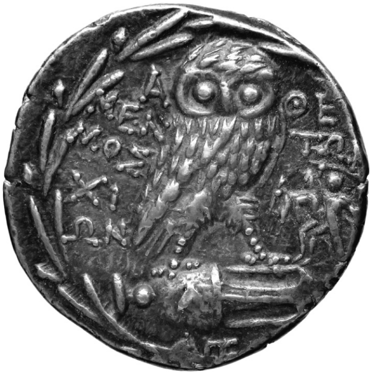

FIGURE 9.3 A silver wreath-bearing tetradrachm (84/83 B.C.?).

Moneyer magistrates: Mentor and Moschion. From Reusser (1993) 118 and Svoronos (1923-1926) pl. 74, no. 9–21.

or possibly even within it.[48] One could go further and regard this offering as a form of symbolic surrender: after all, were not the Athenians leaving the very symbol of their liberty in the heart of the *Urbs*, as a guarantee of their future loyalty? Was this not a way of acknowledging that their city remained free and autonomous only thanks to the will of Rome[49]? While this pessimistic interpretation does have some basis, it nevertheless corresponds only to a biased view of the dialogue that the Athenians at this time endeavoured to establish with Rome. Offering a copy of the Tyrannicides group (not the original) constituted not solely a gesture of submission, but also an attempt to get the new masters of the Mediterranean to recognise the close connections between, on one hand, the foundation of their own Republic, and on the other, the political regime of the Athenians and, of course, also their own equal Athenian dignity.

The Romans may well have been unaware of that implicit claim to independence. Recourse to the image of the Tyrannicides nevertheless, on the Athenian side, indicated that its own political culture was still very much alive: the Greek city had died neither at Chaeronea nor at the time of the Mithridatic Wars, nor even at Actium.[50] Proof of that was furthermore provided, a few years later, when the Athenians offered a triumphal reception to Caesar's assassins, in whom, for a while, they placed their hopes of emancipation.

Caesar's Assassins on the Agora

In October 44, Brutus and Cassius arrived in Greece, arousing considerable enthusiasm on their way there (Cassius Dio, 47.20.4):

> The Athenians gave them a splendid reception; for, though they were honoured by nearly everybody else for what they had done, the inhabitants of this city voted them bronze images by the side of those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, thus intimating that Brutus and Cassius had emulated their example [*hōs kai zēlōtais autōn genomenois*].[51]

The welcome given to the two Romans was probably modelled on the royal entries of the Hellenistic period, but it is a sequence about which Dio Cassius says not a word except to describe its conclusion. We must therefore try to reconstruct it for ourselves: the welcome offered by ephebes at the town gates, the procession to the heart of the city, the sacrifice on the Acropolis, the speech delivered to the Athenian people, and, finally, the Assembly's vote to award honours. The allocation of effigies was thus by no means simply a spontaneous reaction of a city with its back to the wall. Rather, it stemmed from a dialogue that had taken place between the community and Caesar's two murderers, a dialogue in which we should try to analyse what was at stake.

By honouring the Assassins in this manner, the Athenians established a parallel with the tyrannicides that may have been favoured by the fact that there were two of them. As in the case of Antigonus the One-eyed and Demetrius

Poliorcetes, it was as a couple that Brutus and Cassius found themselves identified with Harmodius and Aristogiton (the figure of the double decidedly being one of the constant features of the long-term history of the group). Impressive though it was,[52] this exceptional honour was by no means a form of servile homage. Its meaning was ambiguous: by setting up their effigies in this prestigious zone, the Athenians welcomed Brutus and Cassius as liberators, but what was the nature of the liberation that was involved? Was it the liberation of a Rome tyrannised by Caesar, or that of Greece enslaved by the Romans? We cannot be sure that the two parties involved would have given the same reply to that implicit question. Besides, it was not in the interest of anyone to draw attention to the possible misunderstanding. While the Athenians were counting on the victory of their guests to further their own cause in the eyes of the Romans, Brutus and Cassius were seeking to rally the Greeks to their side, bearing in mind the inevitable clash with the troops of Octavian and Mark Antony that was in the offing.

For Brutus, the honour accorded to him had a savour all its own. In granting him this statue, the Athenians were in effect turning him into a repeat version of his fictitious ancestor, Lucius Iunius Brutus, who had ejected the Tarquins in 510, the very year in which, according to Pliny, Antenor's group had been erected in Athens.[53] Nor did the parallel stop there. Brutus the Elder was honoured by an effigy on the Capitol, striking the pose of a Tyrannicide, 'with a drawn sword in its hand',[54] which was placed close to the group sculpted by Critius and Nesiotes presented by the Athenians a few years earlier. The connection must have been the more striking given that Brutus maintained a strange relationship with the effigy of his ancestor. According to both Plutarch and Appian, it was the statue on the Capitol that decided Brutus to take action against Caesar:

> Such was Cassius; but Brutus was exhorted and incited to the undertaking by many arguments from his comrades, and by many utterances and writings from his fellow-citizens. For instance, on the statue of his ancestor, the Brutus who overthrew the power of the kings, there was written: 'O that we had you now, Brutus!' and 'O that Brutus were alive!' Besides, the praetorial tribunal of Brutus himself was daily found covered with such writings as these: 'Brutus, are you asleep?' and 'You are not really Brutus'.[55]

By associating Brutus with the effigies of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the Athenians elevated Caesar's murderer to the level of his glorious ancestor, thereby creating an astonishing mirror-image whereby the effigies on the Agora found their reflection, across the expanse of the Mediterranean Sea, in the effigies on the Capitol.

However, as we know, the story ended badly, and the statues of Brutus and Cassius were discreetly removed from the Agora, no doubt to be replaced by effigies of Julius Caesar, the location of which is not known. As early as 44, a Senatus Consultum ruled that all cities under Roman domination should erect statues of the assassinated dictator; and the Athenians evidently, if somewhat belatedly, complied with the senatorial order.[56]

Although we should not necessarily detect a deliberate strategy here, the Tyrannicides monument certainly experienced an eclipse as a result of the architectural upheaval that the Agora underwent in the Augustan period.[57] To the south of the statuary group, the Romans, on the orders of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, erected an imposing Odeon 25 metres tall, probably between 16 and 12 B.C.[58]. To the north they set up a large marble Temple of Ares, rebuilt using elements from two ancient temples dating from the classical period (probably located at Pallene); this now stood, on new foundations, in the middle of the Agora.[59] At the start of the Christian era, the effigies of the Tyrannicides thus found themselves flanked by two mastodons that blocked the views that they had previously commanded (fig. 9.4).

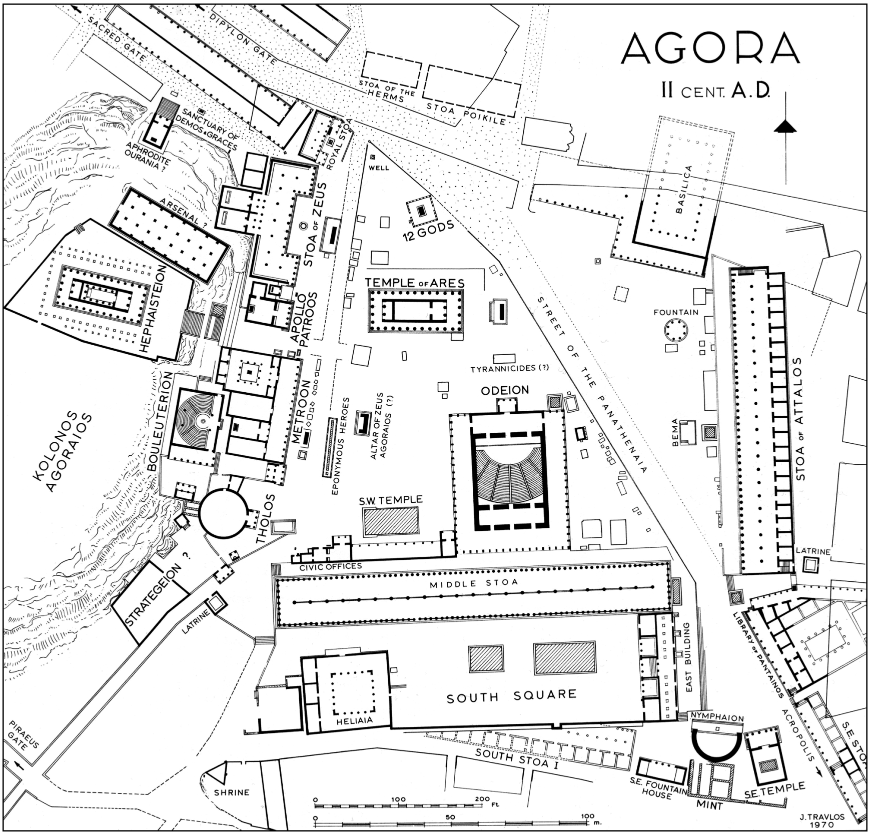
AGORA
II CENT. A.D.
SACRED GATE
DIPYLON GATE
STOA OF THE HERMS
STOA POIKILE
SANCTUARY OF DEMOS & GRACES
APHRODITE OURANIA ?
ROYAL STOA
WELL
ARSENAL ?
STOA OF ZEUS
12 GODS
BASILICA
HEPHAISTEION
APOLLO PATROOS
TEMPLE OF ARES
STREET OF THE PANATHENAIA
FOUNTAIN
TYRANNICIDES (?)
ODEION
METROON
EPONYMOUS HEROES
ALTAR OF ZEUS AGORAIOS (?)
BOULEUTERION
KOLONOS AGORAIOS
BEMA
STOA OF ATTALOS
S.W. TEMPLE
THOLOS
LATRINE
CIVIC OFFICES
MIDDLE STOA
STRATEGEION ?
LATRINE
EAST BUILDING
LIBRARY OF PANTAINOS
SOUTH SQUARE
HELIAIA
NYMPHAION
ACROPOLIS
S.E. STO
PIRAEUS GATE
SOUTH STOA I
SHRINE
S.E. FOUNTAIN HOUSE
MINT
S.E. TEMPLE
0 100 200 Ft
0 50 100 m.
J. TRAVLOS 1970

FIGURE 9.4 The Agora of Athens in the second century A.D.

From Thompson and Wycherley (1972) pl. 8 (cf. pl. 1).

Pax Romana: The Tyrannicides Embalmed?

THE TYRANNICIDES DOMESTICATED IN THEIR NICHE?

A work written in the second half of the second century A.D., *The Lover of Lies, or the Doubter (Philopseudēs)* by Lucian of Samosata, stages a dialogue that takes place in the lavish dwelling of a certain Eucrates. With delicate brushstrokes, the author sketches in a portrait of the host, a Greek notable with a veneer of culture and keen to display his *paideia* at every opportunity: 'A man of sixty, with a long beard and a great devotee of philosophy', Eucrates is also described as 'a learned [*sophōi*] and uncommonly generous gentleman [*malista eleutheriōi*]'[60] who heads a substantial household. He clearly belongs to the class of educated benefactors, the 'small world' that lorded it over Athens in the imperial period.

His house is but one of the conspicuous signs of his superior social standing. It is there that Eucrates welcomes philosophers from the principal Athenian philosophical schools and displays his own sophistication and culture. On the pretext of telling the amazing story of a statue belonging to him (the statue of the Corinthian general Pellichus), Eucrates suggests showing his guest around his home (*Lover of Lies*, 18):

> 'Have you not observed on coming in', said he, 'a very fine statue [*pagkalon andrianta*] set up in the hall, the work of Demetrius, the maker of portrait-statues?' 'Do you mean the discus-thrower', said I, 'the one bent over in the position of the throw, with his head turned back toward the hand that holds the discus, with one leg slightly bent, looking as if he would spring up all at once with the cast?' 'Not that one', said he, 'for that is one of Myron's works, the discus-thrower you speak of. Neither do I mean the one beside it, the one binding his head with a fillet [*tēi tainiai*], the handsome youth, for that is Polycleitus' work. Never mind those to the right of you as you come in, among which stand the modellings by Critius and Nesiotes, the tyrant-slayers [*en hois kai ta Kritiou kai Nēsiōtou plasmata hestēken, hoi turannoktonoi*].'[61]

A veritable gallery of statues thus graced the *pars publica* of the dwelling—a strategic spot where the master would receive his guests and clients. In this private museum, the effigies of the Tyrannicides clearly occupied a prime position, since Eucrates chose to single them out from a collection of unidentified portraits.

After all, in this domestic context, the sculptures by Critius and Nesiotes clearly carried a meaning quite different from the one that they conveyed in the Agora of Athens. As copies transplanted into a private house,[62] the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton were flanked by effigies of athletes either at rest or in full action. Set alongside the 'handsome' Diadumenos by Polycleitus and the Discus-thrower by Myron, the Tyrannicides owed their presence in Eucrates' home, not to their story or their political message, but to their beauty as sculptures and the reputation of those who made them, Critius and Nesiotes.[63] In the eyes of their owner and his visitors, the Tyrannicides doubtless represented no more than two naked men among others, upon which one could risk feasting one's eyes. Thus privatised, aestheticized, and added to a collection, the statues of the Tyrannicides seem, in Lucian's work, simply works of art that are totally decontextualised and, accordingly, neutralised.

The same probably applied to most of the copies of the group discovered in Italy (in Rome, Latium, or Campania), almost all of which date from the time of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius.[64] Of the fifteen or so examples recovered in a more or less fragmentary state,[65] only two copies date from the republican period: one is the Aristogiton from the Capitol, the other a head of Harmodius discovered in 1966 in the 'Villa of Cassius' in Tivoli.[66] All the other copies seem to date from the second century A.D., if, that is, one accepts the stylistic criteria used by specialists[67] in the absence of any precise archaeological context.[68]

There is, however, one outstanding exception to the prevailing vagueness surrounding the provenance of those various copies: in 1954, archaeologists discovered in the *thermae* of Sosandra, in Baiae, plaster moulds used by a workshop that produced copies of Greek statues—including those of Harmodius and Aristogiton. The production site, lodged in a vast complex surrounding the baths, seems to have been active from the Augustan period up until the second half of the second century A.D.[69], supplying effigies to the fine seaside villas around the Bay of Naples. The location of the workshop had been carefully chosen: Baiae was an aristocratic and imperial holiday spot, where wealthy Romans would come to enjoy good food and the benefits of the thermal baths[70]; it was also an area that was in close contact with the western Greek colonies, where Hellenisation had been particularly early and profound.

The discovery of these moulds makes it possible to draw a number of conclusions. In the first place, the Tyrannicides group clearly belonged to a repertory of Greek statues that were prestigious for Romans to exhibit in the libraries or gardens of their villas. Secondly, the effigies of Harmodius and Aristogiton were not the only ones copied in this way. On the basis of 293 fragments found in the Sosandra *thermae*, archaeologists had been able to distinguish thirty or so different statues, and to identify about twelve of them with certainty: a Persephone, some Ephesian Amazons, an Athena Velletri, an Aphrodite, a Belvedere Apollo, and several ephebes.[71] As in *The Lover of Lies*, in the luxurious homes of the Roman élites the copies of the statues of Critius and Nesiotes must therefore have cohabited with statues of Greek gods, ephebes, and Amazons. They enjoyed no exclusivity. The fact was that buyers were not concerned about the original meanings of these works that they acquired, but were intent upon putting together collections of statues that would impress their visitors.[72] Does this mean that, submerged amid the heterogeneous collections of the Roman *domus*, the Tyrannicides' effigies became no more than ornamental sculptures stripped of all political meaning?[73]

That would be going too far. Faced with copies of Harmodius and Aristogiton, a spectator could adopt a variety of ways of looking at them: an aesthetic one based solely on an appreciation of the style and beauty of the portraits; or a civic one which, through the copy, tracked back to the original work and the reasons for its erection (or at least whatever the observer knew about the matter).[74] Those two views were certainly not incompatible, and a single individual could well consider the Tyrannicides now as decorative copies integrated into an overall architectural programme, now as unique images that referred to a precise political past and context; namely, the Athenians' struggle for their liberty. Even tucked away in the atrium of a Roman villa, the group preserved a symbolism that could never be entirely neutralised.[75]

It is perhaps that ineliminable political dimension that explains how it was that the Tyrannicides' effigies were never mass-produced within the Roman world. A total of about fifteen reproductions based on seven groups at the most[76] is remarkably few compared to the hundred known copies of the Artemis of Ephesus, the sixty-three copies of Menander, the fifty-four portraits of Demosthenes, the forty statues of Homer and Socrates, or the twenty or so copies of Apollo Omphalus or of Aphrodite Sosandra.[77] Apart from generic figures of athletes and deities, the standardised production of copies related above all to poets (Homer, Hesiod, Sophocles, Euripides, and Menander), orators (Demosthenes[78]), or philosophers (Socrates and Epicurus),—not to the great men of the Athenian democracy, such as Harmodius and Aristogiton. Not only did the effigies of the Tyrannicides not belong to the small group of statues that allowed a Roman member of the élite to show off his familiarity with Greek *paideia,*[79] but they turned out to be too obviously associated with the democratic regime that had established them. In a system dominated by an emperor, they carried with them a political imaginary that was at odds with the system of values of those who had bought them.

In truth, the number of copies of the Tyrannicides—limited but not insignificant—reflects an incomplete process of domestication. While the Roman élites were tempted to appropriate the Tyrannicides' statues for their aesthetic value or their erotic overtones, they retained a certain reluctance when faced with a monument whose heavy symbolic baggage threatened, in some circumstances, to resurface.

RESISTANCE: AN EVER-VIBRANT SYMBOL

In fact, there is one anecdote that draws attention to the Tyrannicides' remarkable ability to unleash discourse with dramatic effect. The most complete version of this story, which was often retold in the imperial period, is provided by the Pseudo-Plutarch (*Lives of the Ten Orators* [Antiphon] 833B):

> But there is another story of his death: that Antiphon sailed as an envoy to Syracuse when the tyranny of Dionysius the First was at its height, and at a convivial gathering [*para poton*] the question arose what bronze was the best [*tis aristos esti chalkos*]; then, when most of the guests disagreed, he said that bronze was the best from which the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton were made.[80]

That quip was said to have had tragic consequences for the cheeky Antiphon, for Dionysius apparently considered his sally to be an indirect incitement to murder him, and he ordered Antiphon's execution.

At first sight, the story seems likely to be true, anchored as it is not only in a precise cultural and social context, the *symposion*, with which the tyrannicides were closely connected, but also within a definite historical framework (the tyranny of Dionysius the Elder, in the first third of the fourth century B.C.). However, as soon as the surface of the anecdote is scratched, it disintegrates. After all, who can this bold Antiphon be? Certainly not the late fifth-century Athenian statesman who led the oligarchic revolution of the Four Hundred and was executed after the re-establishment of democracy in 410 B.C.[81] So is it another Antiphon, a poet by profession, who may have lived in the same period? Possibly, but there is no formal proof of this.[82] The mystery further deepens upon a reading of a variant of the same tale, which associated the flash of wit not with Antiphon, but with Diogenes the Cynic.[83] In truth, the anecdote seems to be one of the countless stories invented in the Hellenistic and Roman period in attempts to reconstruct the lives of famous poets and philosophers on the basis of meagre allusions found in authors of the Classical period.[84]

In this case, the episode may well be inspired by a passage in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* that records a remark made by 'Antiphon the poet' just before he was beaten to death on the orders of Dionysius,[85] although that remark made not the slightest allusion to the tyrannicides or to their statues. The anecdote, which was popularised in the second century A.D. (when no fewer than four different versions of it were recorded[86]), reflects the way in which the monument was perceived by authors of the Second Sophistic far more than it testifies to any precise historical event: the élite of the imperial world regarded with suspicion any discourse that the statuary group might prompt. Tellingly enough, when Plutarch, in his work entitled *How to Distinguish a Flatterer from a Friend*, cites Antiphon's quip, it is in order to criticise the thoughtless insolence of the poet, not the violent reaction of the tyrant. According to Plutarch, when Antiphon referred to the memory of Harmodius and Aristogiton in Dionysius' presence, he displayed an arrogance and lack of tact that were completely out of place, showing no regard for even the most elementary rules of conviviality.[87] Quite apart from its moralising tone, Plutarch's criticism conveys the degree to which the monument preserved a subversive political charge and continued to arouse the distrust of élites anxious not to upset the sensibilities of the new masters of the Mediterranean. For behind the figure of Dionysius there clearly lurked the shadow cast by the emperor (who was often likened to a tyrant by his enemies).[88] To move from a tyrannicide to an assassin of Caesar took but one step, a step that it was above all necessary not to seem to suggest by referring inappropriately to Harmodius and Aristogiton.

Far from being embalmed by admiration, Critius' and Nesiotes' statues continued to provoke widely differing reactions and to stir, if not passions, at least a certain anxiety on the part of authors of the imperial period. It was a critical tradition that was clearly illustrated by Lucian who, with his customary virtuosity, delighted in mocking the two liberators and their effigies.

CRITIQUE: LUCIAN'S IRONICAL ALLUSIONS

Lucian, who was of Syrian origin, displayed all the attributes of a super-talented outsider. A man of dizzying erudition, he cast a disenchanted eye over Greek culture and shamelessly mocked even the most sacred traditions of the Greek cities.[89] So it comes as no surprise to find him attacking the veneration that surrounded the murderers of tyrants[90] in a little work devoted solely to this subject. In *The Tyrannicide*, Lucian imagines a trial in the course of which a citizen lays claim to the honours reserved for tyrannicides. He tells his tale: determined to kill the tyrant who rules the city, he makes his way to the citadel in order to fulfil his pledge. Failing to locate his target, he assassinates the despot's son, leaving his sword stuck in the body. When the tyrant returns home, he discovers the macabre spectacle and, in despair, kills himself with the sword stained by his son's blood. Reckoning that, on the rebound, he indirectly caused the death of the tyrant, the murderer demands to be treated with the respect that is his due.

The story is inspired by a distortion of a well-known rhetorical exercise: if a philosopher persuades a tyrant to renounce his power, should he be granted the honours that are due to tyrannicides?[91] Over and above this nudge and wink directed at the rhetoric of his day, it seems to me that Lucian embarks on a purely personal adaptation of the story of Harmodius and Aristogiton, as told in the version relayed by Thucydides. Like Lucian's tyrannicide, the two lovers had missed their target. Believing their plot to have been discovered, Harmodius and Aristogiton had abandoned the murder of Hippias, the real tyrant, of Athens and instead struck down his brother, Hipparchus, who happened to be passing[92]; despite this failure, they had received the greatest of honours from the Athenians. In a way, Lucian's buffoon of a tyrannicide was demanding to be treated like the two 'Liberators', who had not struck down the slightest tyrant any more than he had.

To be sure, the analogy between the two stories is far from perfect and may appear somewhat forced. All the same, thanks to another work by Lucian, we know that he was perfectly happy to deride the figures of Harmodius and Aristogiton. In *The Parasite*, a certain Simon argues that, far from being a burden, a parasite employs a skill (*technē*) or even practises a veritable profession that is useful to the whole of society. In support of this paradoxical claim, Simon wades into a remarkable reappraisal of the past, at the end of which the wise Nestor is represented as Agamemnon's parasite, while the handsome Patroclus appears as a parasite of Achilles. Next, it is the turn of the tyrannicides (*The Parasite*, 48):

> Again, was not Aristogiton, who was a man of the people and a pauper [*penēs*], as Thucydides says, parasite [*parasitos*] to Harmodius? Was he not his lover [*erastēs*] also? Naturally parasites are lovers of those who support them. Well, this parasite restored the city of Athens to freedom when she was in bondage to a tyrant, and now his statue stands in bronze in the public square along with that of his beloved [*meta tōn paidikōn*].

The entire analysis rests upon a tendentious reading of a remark made by Thucydides (6.54.2), who described Aristogiton as a *mesos polites*, 'a middling citizen', so neither rich nor poor. At the cost of betraying the letter and spirit of Thucydides' text, Simon sets out to reinterpret the whole relationship between Harmodius and Aristogiton, portraying it as one of dependence and parasitism. Nor does the parody stop there. Simon also delights in reversing the expected roles taken by the ephebe and the mature man. For in archaic and classical Greece it was, in principle, the *erastēs* who looked after the *erōmenos* and showered him with gifts, rather than the other way round.[93] The idea that Aristogiton would be 'supported' by Harmodius is therefore, to put it mildly, paradoxical since it implies that the younger man was the protector, or even the educator, of the mature one.[94]

Over and above this amusing switch of roles, the author discreetly criticises the honours showered upon the tyrannicides. For the reference to Thucydides certainly functioned as a nudge and a wink to the alert reader who, having read the historian, was well aware that this pair of lovers had certainly not liberated the city as Simon was claiming.[95] By turning Aristogiton into a sordid parasite, was not Lucian obliquely deploring the privileges enjoyed by the tyrannicides' descendants, who were granted the *sitēsis* in the Prytaneum and lived, at the city's expense, as true legal parasites (in the original sense of the term)?

That implicit criticism resurfaces in the passage in *The Lover of Lies* that is cited heretofore, in which Eucrates boasts of the statues that adorn his home.[96] To appreciate all the irony of the story, we need fully to appreciate the setting. The entire work is devoted to lies in their many forms, both narrative and those presented figuratively. Through Tychiades, Lucian attacks the credibility of the Greeks in general and the Athenian city's founding political myths in particular.[97] In this sceptical atmosphere, the reader is encouraged to doubt all that he is told and, in particular, to regard the statues described by Eucrates with scepticism: in the first place because the statuary is, by nature, misleading, imitating what is real but lacking its qualities (the Platonic critique of *mimēsis* has lost none of its vigour); and secondly because the effigies in question are copies of original works, which makes them copies of copies. As a good lying mentor, Eucrates in this respect cultivates considerable ambiguity: the impression conveyed is that the works that he possesses are the originals by Myron and Polycleitus, not just vulgar copies.[98] With the evocation of the Tyrannicides, it seems to me that we reach the ultimate degree of falsehood. To understand this, one needs to pay attention to the vocabulary that Eucrates uses to describe the statuary group (Lucian, *The Lover of Lies*, 18): 'Never mind those to the right as you come in, among which stand the modellings [*plasmata*] of the tyrant-slayers by Critius and Nesiotes.' Lucian plays upon the double meaning of the term *plasmata*, which means sometimes a fabricated image, sometimes a fictitious account. In the rhetorical tradition of the imperial period, *plasma* referred to a very particular category of stories: 'plausible fiction' or 'true-seeming invention'.[99] And is that not precisely the status of the story of the tyrannicides, which, according to Thucydides, oscillates between truth and lying? Far from being innocent, the choice of the term aims to emphasise 'the plausible fiction' upon whose strength rested the erection of the statuary group that glorified liberators who, in reality, were not liberators at all.

Lucian's work thus testifies to the vigour of a critical vein that operated at the expense of the tyrannicides and their effigies. But beyond the irony or unease that is detectable here or there among authors of the Second Sophistic, what is striking about the literature produced in the imperial age is the pair's persistent ability to inspire new discourses, whether mocking or appreciative.

DOUBLING UP: THE TYRANNICIDES OF THE AGORA AND THE LIONESS OF THE ACROPOLIS

The monument still possessed an aura so strong that, in the Roman period, it produced new, more or less fantastical stories about the saga of the 'Liberators'. One story in particular deserves to be investigated further: that of the courtesan Leaina, which seems to have begun to circulate in the Roman period.

Let us see what Pausanias has to say about this:

> And yet Pisistratus and his son Hippias were more humane than Periander, wiser too in warfare and in statecraft until, on account of the murder of Hipparchus, Hippias vented his passion against all and sundry, including a woman named Leaina [Lioness]. What I am about to say has never been committed to writing but is generally credited among the Athenians. When Hipparchus died, Hippias tortured Leaina to death, because he knew she was the female companion [*hetaira*] of Aristogiton and therefore could not possibly, he held, be in ignorance of the plot.

> As a recompense, when the tyranny of the Pisistratids was at an end, the Athenians put up a bronze lioness as a memorial [*mnēma*] of the woman and beside there is an *agalma* of Aphrodite, which they say is the dedication of Callias and the work of Calamis.[100]

Pausanias himself is amazed not to have found, in the whole of ancient literature, the slightest allusion to this extraordinary episode. (In truth, that is not quite correct, for the adventures of Leaina had already been recounted, in Latin, by Pliny the Elder in the preceding century and possibly even by Cicero as early as the first century B.C.[101]). It is nevertheless true that no Greek source of the Classical or Hellenistic period breathes a word about this story, and that Pausanias himself is repeating an oral tradition that was current in Athens at the time of his visit there. It is accordingly hard to believe in the historicity of the tale, even if a few scholars think they have detected a reference to Leaina on a black-figure vase from the last third of the sixth century[102] and also in an enigmatic line in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* that it is extremely tricky to interpret.[103]

In all probability, the story of Leaina was forged *a posteriori*. It is hard to believe that a statue erected by the *dēmos* in honour of a woman—or, for that matter, a man—at such an early date received no mention by either the historians or the orators of the Classical period. According to Catherine Keesling, this constitutes an example of 'iconatrophy'. This is a term coined by anthropologists to designate a process by which—by reason of the passing of time—a monument from the past that is no longer understood by contemporaries may prompt a burst of new narrative traditions, either oral or written, that endeavour to restore some meaning to it.[104] The story of Leaina may thus have been invented in the Roman period in order to explain the presence of a very ancient statue of a lioness situated on the Acropolis at the level of the Propylaea, the significance of which was now lost to the Athenians.[105]

Let us try to imagine how this apocryphal story may have been 'cobbled together' from pre-existent materials. In the first place, how to explain how it was that a woman named Leaina came to encompass the saga of the tyrannicides? The explanation may lie in the name of the actual spot where the murder of Hipparchus took place: the Leocoreion, which was dedicated to the daughters of the Athenian King Leos (whose name evokes the Lion).[106] There was, after all, a phonetic and symbolic link between the daughters of the 'lion-king' who were sacrificed on the country's altar and the 'Lioness' who died silently under the blows of the tyrant, and this may have played a crucial role in the genesis of the anecdote.

But why make Leaina a courtesan? In the first place, because the term 'lioness' was a slang-word current among Greek prostitutes and *hetairai*: 'lioness' was a commonly used term that referred to a well-known position of sexual intercourse, an equivalent to today's 'doggy-style' (i.e. 'from behind'[107]); secondly, because, according to Pausanias and Athenaeus, one of Demetrius Poliorcetes' mistresses was known by that name.[108] Now, as we know, that Macedonian king had been closely linked with the image of the tyrannicides ever since he had been represented by an effigy positioned close to the statuary group sculpted by Critius and Nesiotes.[109] So Demetrius Poliorcetes' mistress could well have provided the matrix in which, according to Athenian oral tradition, the Leaina of Harmodius and Aristogiton could well have been conceived.

Nevertheless, this does not explain how there came to be a connection between the courtesan and the bronze lioness. The environment in which the statue stood no doubt played a crucial role here. It is hard to say why the statue was set up in the first place,[110] but the Acropolis lioness no doubt found that its meaning changed in the course of time, on account if its proximity to the *agalma* of Aphrodite that is mentioned by Pausanias (fig. 9.5).[111] In all probability, that closeness helped to impart to the statue an erotic nuance that it certainly did not have at the start. And it probably took quite a while for that change in meaning to come about, particularly since the Aphrodite of Calamis may not at first have possessed a strictly erotic meaning. Having been consecrated by a *stratēgos* at the entrance to the Acropolis, at the time of its dedication, the *agalma* of Aphrodite may well have had a mainly political and

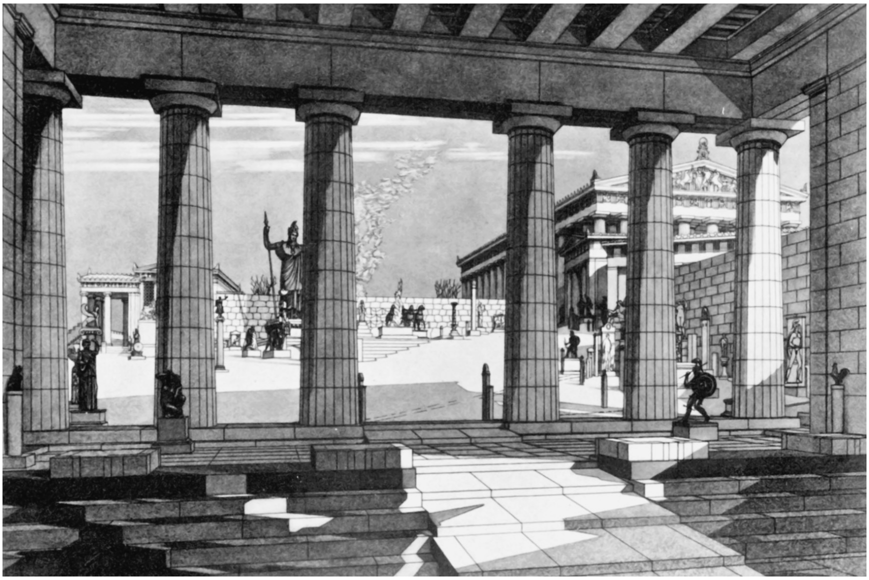

FIGURE 9.5 The Acropolis of Athens seen from within the Propylaea (drawing). On the left, within the eastern colonnade of the Propylaea, the Aphrodite of Calamis and the statue of 'Leaina'.
From Stevens (1936) 521.

warrior significance.[112] Then, as the centuries passed, what the effigy of the goddess stood for evolved, affecting ever more closely the change in meaning of the lioness statue that stood right at its side.

It was in this 'Aphroditean' context that the association between the two Leainas (the courtesan and the bronze lioness) may have come about. It may have been then that the story of the *hetaira* was readjusted in order to take into account an iconographic peculiarity of the effigy: the absence of a tongue in the animal's mouth. Plutarch provides the canonical explanation: 'And the Athenians caused a bronze lioness without a tongue to be made and set up in the gates of the Acropolis, representing by the spirited courage of the animal Leaina's invincible character, and by its tonguelessness her power of silence in keeping a holy secret.'[113] Far from having been planned from the start, this anatomical detail probably resulted from an accidental deterioration of the statue, a phenomenon that we know to be common, as so many examples in the Greek world show: probably the tongue of the lioness (which no doubt protruded) had in the course of the years unfortunately become detached.[114]

An aetiological explanation for the anomaly needed to be found: by making Leaina a speechless woman who obstinately refused to betray the names of Harmodius' and Aristogiton's imaginary accomplices, Athenian oral tradition had found a neat solution to the problem. On one hand, the anecdote turned into an opportunity to draw attention to the roles that men wished to assign to women in the city. Leaina represented or even illustrated to the point of caricature Sophocles' famous line (*Ajax*, 293): 'To a woman, silence is a crowning glory'. On the other hand, this edifying tale was a means, at a narrative level, to strengthen the connection with the tyrannicides' saga. The details of the episode were clearly inspired by the death of Aristogiton, who was tortured by Hippias and who had spoken only to denounce imaginary accomplices[115]—and we certainly know of plenty of other stories modelled on the same pattern.[116]

That may be the final word on a story that rests entirely upon mirror play that associates the Tyrannicides group with the lioness of the Propylaea and with all that that involves in the way of similarities and symmetry. Similarities, first: according to the ancient authors, those two bronze monuments were erected in the same period, 'when the tyranny of the Pisistratids was at an end', Pausanias specifies. Furthermore, they are believed to have had the same honorific and commemorative purposes. According to Pausanias, the statue of Leaina was dedicated 'in memory' (*es mnēmēn*) of the courtesan, according to Pliny so as to 'honour' her or, as Plutarch put it, as 'an honour' (*geras*). However, the effects of symmetry were equally flagrant: the Tyrannicides on the Agora matched the lioness on the Acropolis, and the two monuments were linked by the Panathenaic Way. There was also a sexual dimension to this symmetry: on the Agora, statues of men; on the

Acropolis, an effigy in honour of a woman—that is to say *hetairoi* on one hand, and a *hetaira* on the other.[117]

At the end of this analysis, the statue of Leaina thus appears as a double of the Tyrannicides group—a degraded double,[118] it is true, but a double nevertheless. Perhaps this is the most amazing aspect to this long-running tale: well into the imperial period, nearly 700 years after their erection, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton still retained the ability to engender doubles: iconographic doubles to be sure, in the case of the marble or bronze copies tucked away in the *villae* of Roman notables; but also narrative doubles, with the creation of a mirror-legend that reflects the persistent prestige of the Tyrannicides.

Sic transit gloria mundi… After the third century A.D., the statuary group was mentioned only from time to time by erudite scholars returning to or twisting anecdotes dating from the Classical or the Imperial period. On the Agora, the statues disappeared at a point that is hard to determine, possibly at the time of the invasions by the Heruli that ravaged the city in A.D. 267.[119] The history of the monument then entered a long period of somnolence that did not really come to an end until the nineteenth century.

Epilogue }

Born Again

THE STATUARY GROUP'S BELATED REBIRTH IN THE WEST

In the form of their Roman copies that are exhibited in the Naples Museum, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton are among the most famous sculptures of Antiquity. In the academic world, a study of them is obligatory for all histories of art, for it provides evocative images for the great handbooks on the Greek world and fuels a constant output of scholarly works that are made available on a more or less selective basis. At the same time, the statues of the two heroes have come to embody the earliest 'gay icons' of history within the framework of a homosexual culture that is on the way to becoming normalised in the West.[1] However, interest in the statuary group was not always so strong in the West—far from it, for its reception was for a long time impeded for the very reasons that now promote its success.

In the Shadow of Brutus: The Tyrannicides Eclipsed

In the Western tradition, Harmodius and Aristogiton were slow to attract attention. To take but two telling examples, neither Machiavelli (1469–1527) nor Jean Bodin (1529–1596) breathed a word about their adventures, whereas they both dwelt at length upon the fall of ancient tyrannies and referred frequently to the end of the Pisistratids.[2] Even in works specifically devoted to the subject of tyrannicide, the two Athenians were only rarely mentioned. They are conspicuously absent from *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates,* written by John Milton just after the execution of Charles I of England, in defence of the people's right to execute a guilty sovereign.[3] Only in the many anti-monarchist lampoons produced in French reformist circles in the wake of the Saint Barthélemy disaster of 1572 did Harmodius and Aristogiton find a discreet place. In *On Legitimate Power* (*De la puissance légitime*), written by a team of historians, theologians, and jurists under the direction of Théodore de Bèze, the murder of a tyrant was justified by 'The Law of Tyrannicides' ('La Loy des Tyrannicides') that went back to Antiquity: 'Harmodius and Aristogiton in the town of Athens, Brutus and Cassius in Greece and Aratus in Sicyon too: statues of all of these were erected by public decree for their having delivered their countries from the tyranny of Pisistratus, Caesar and Nicocles.'[4] However, this was one of the very few occasions before the early eighteenth century when the statuary group was even mentioned.

What is the explanation for this long-standing eclipse? A number of reasons may be invoked. In the first place, Harmodius and Aristogiton were closely associated with Athenian democracy, a political regime that was by no means favoured by European élites of the modern period.[5] Secondly, the two 'Liberators' were not once mentioned in Plutarch's *Lives*, which for centuries encapsulated all that a gentleman needed to know about Antiquity and its succession of leaders.[6] And, finally, there were alternative ancient models for anyone who wished to reflect on tyrannicide: namely, Brutus, Caesar's assassin, and Judith, the murderess of Holofernes, who attracted all eyes and fuelled most analogies.[7]

But there was another factor that played a decisive role in the disapproval that Harmodius and Aristogiton attracted in the modern period. The two men embodied a form of homosexual love in a society that radically disapproved of such 'unnatural' tendencies. We may take the measure of such reticence by reading the remarks that were made about the two lovers by Montaigne in his *Essays* published in 1580, despite the fact that he himself was certainly an outspoken enough iconoclast. Here, the tyrannicides embody the model of 'an amorous friendship' that is eminently worthy of our condemnation: 'that other Grecian licence is justly abhorred by our manners.'[8] And even if he quotes the Platonist philosophers who praise 'the healthy loves of Harmodius and Aristogiton', he by no means adopts their point of view. At the very most, he timidly concedes, 'Finally, all that can be said in favour of the Academy is that it was a love which ended in friendship.'[9]

No doubt this sulphurous reputation explained why it was that, at this time, the two liberators never attracted the attention of either painters or sculptors. It is true that at the start of the sixteenth century Hans Holbein the Younger had taken an interest in the saga of the tyrannicides, but he did so in order to draw attention to a marginal figure in the story: the courtesan Leaina, who was represented in a fresco in the Maison Hertenstein, in Lucerne. Although the painting has now disappeared, a preparatory drawing dated 1517–1518 is exhibited in the Basel *Kunstmuseum*. It shows the *hetaira* spitting out her tongue before her judges, so as not to be able to be forced to betray the accomplices in the murder (fig. E.1).[10] Symptomatically enough, then, the only picture

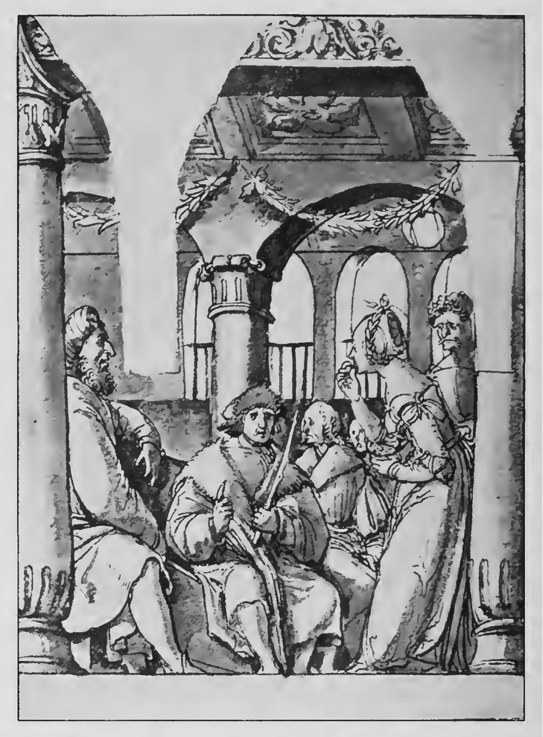

FIGURE E.1 Hans Holbein the Younger, 'Leaina vor den Richtern' (Leaina Before Her Judges), 1517–1518. Preparatory drawing, *Kunstmuseum*, Basel.

connected with the Harmodius and Aristogiton cycle ignored the two lovers in order to concentrate on a more reassuring feminine figure who embodied both physical courage and heterosexual love.

Out of the Shadows: The Progressive Rediscovery of the Statuary Group in the Eighteenth Century

On the brink of the eighteenth century, the monument made a brief appearance in a dialogue of the dead composed by Fénelon, at that time the tutor of Louis XIV's grandson. At the end of an animated exchange between Pisistratus and Solon, the Athenian law-giver waxes ironical about the fine patrimony that the tyrant had bequeathed to his children:

> And you have finely succeeded! The only inheritance you have left them is public hatred. The most generous citizens have merited statues and immortal honours for having stabbed one of thy sons; the other is fled and

> in a servile manner is forced to implore the assistance of a barbarian king against his own country.[11]

'The most generous citizens': that was the paraphrase that eventually acknowledged Harmodius and Aristogiton. Symptomatically enough, however, the two tyrannicides were not cited by name and remained relegated to the limbo of the Western 'imaginary'.

That time spent in purgatory came to an end a few years later. In Charles Rollin's monumental *Histoire ancienne* in thirteen volumes (1731–1738), which was read by the whole of scholarly Europe, the historian devoted a long passage to Harmodius' and Aristogiton's attack. He recounted their adventures in detail, going right back to the origins of the plot: 'Harmodius and Aristogiton, both citizens of Athens, had contracted a very strict friendship. Hipparchus, angry at the first for a personal affront he pretended to have received from him, to revenge himself upon his sister, put a public affront upon her [. . .].'[12] Inspired by Thucydides—who was cited in the notes—the account deliberately passes over the couple's homosexuality in silence so as to offer his readers a presentable image and in order not to tarnish the greatness of their exploit. Having recounted the tale of the murder in detail, Rollin admiringly described the statuary group that was set up after the Pisistratids were exiled:

> Extraordinary honours were paid to the memory of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Their names were infinitely respected at Athens in all succeeding ages and almost held in equal reverence with those of the gods. Statues were forthwith erected to them in the market-place, which was an honour that never had been rendered to any man before; the very sight of these statues, exposed to the view of all the citizens, kept up their hatred and detestation of tyranny, and daily renewed their sentiments of gratitude to those generous defenders of their liberty, who had not scrupled to purchase it with their lives, and to seal it with their blood.[13]

After Rollin's work, the story of Harmodius and Aristogiton became an obligatory item in all histories of Athens. In Diderot's and D'Alembert's *Encyclopaedia*, the two liberators were well to the fore,[14] as they also were in Abbé Jean-Jacques Barthélemy's *The Travels of Anacharsis the Younger in Greece*, published in 1788 and followed by many further editions.[15] However, it was not until the troubled time of the French Revolution that interest in the tyrannicides was replaced by a veritable obsession with them.

In the Germanic world, it was Hölderlin who rehabilitated the two Athenians in his masterpiece, *Hyperion*, composed between 1797 and 1799. Its hero delivered a passionate paean of praise for the friendship that bound Harmodius and Aristogiton together,[16] which he regarded as a source of inspiration for all future human relations. In France, the reactivation of the tyrannicides took a less exalted and more polemical form. André Chénier honoured the two heroes in a special poem dedicated to Charlotte Corday, who assassinated Marat in July 1793:

> Greece, o illustrious maiden, saluting your courage,
> Would ravage Paros to place your image
> Close to Harmodius, close to his friend:
> And in holy ecstasy, choirs bent over your tomb
> Would hymn Nemesis who at last
> Would fell the villain asleep on his throne.[17]

Because most of the revolutionaries were fascinated by Rome and Sparta while regarding the democratic city with nothing but disdain,[18] their opponents were able to appropriate those great figures of the Athenian past, freely indulging in clumsy manipulations and finessing the egalitarian symbolism associated with the two 'Liberators'.

That was what François-René de Chateaubriand, with his customary skill, likewise did in his *Essai sur les révolutions*, published in 1797, while he was living in exile in London. In Chapter XI, 'On Ancient Revolutions', this aristocrat dwelt at length on Harmodius' and Aristogiton's plot and its tragic outcome. Leaina also found a discreet place in the story, thanks to a digression that drew an analogy between the past and the present: '[After Hipparchus' death], Athens was filled with proscriptions, the most barbarous torments were resorted to; and the women, as in our days, distinguished themselves by their heroic firmness.'[19] That eruption of the present into the past is really not surprising. Chateaubriand uses the Athenian tyrannicides to stigmatise a mirror-image of the French Revolution, which he assimilates to a bloodthirsty tyranny. At the end of this chapter, the author explicitly compares the 'tyrant' Robespierre to Hippias, maddened with rage at the murder of his brother: 'It was thus that we saw massacres multiplied in France, and new bodies of fugitives join their unfortunate countrymen upon foreign shores, when, after the pretended assassination of one of Robespierre's satellites, that monster redoubled his fury.'[20]

The two Athenians thus found themselves recruited, certainly against their will, into the counter-revolutionary camp. It would nevertheless be mistaken to regard this exaltation simply as a matter of convenience reflecting the opportunism of an aristocrat prepared to do absolutely anything for the needs of his cause. It is true that, quite apart from political considerations, the passionate and impassioned story of the two assassin-lovers was certainly of a kind to fascinate Chateaubriand, the great precursor of French Romanticism.[21] In any case, in the years that followed, the Romantic poets seized on the episode and made it a theme of their own hymns.

Romantic Fervour: Harmodius and Aristogiton in the Nineteenth Century

Hymns: there, we've said it. In his *Essay on Revolutions,* Chateaubriand again returned to the action of the tyrannicides, citing the Harmodius' song at length in a translation suggested by Jean-Jacques Barthélemy in the *Voyage of Anacharsis.*[22] This was certainly not purely by chance. It was not so much Thucydides' historical account that fascinated the Romantics but, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, rather the *skolion* transmitted by Athenaeus. In England, William Wordsworth produced a translation of his own a few years before 1800,[23] as did Lord Byron, who freely adapted the song in his *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, composed between 1812 and 1818.[24] In the United States in 1827, Edgar Allan Poe also produced his own version of the *skolion,* which, for his purposes he renamed *Hymn to Aristogiton and Harmodius*. What was the explanation for all this sudden fervour? No doubt the *Song of Harmodius* did illustrate or indeed almost caricature the close link between *eros* and *thanatos* and, more broadly, all the great passions that stirred Romantics' souls; and perhaps the *skolion* also reflected the all-powerful nature of poets who, through their hymns, were able to immortalise the memory of the two men right down through the centuries.

At any rate, in the years that followed, Harmodius and Aristogiton continued to be invoked regularly by writers. They were cited as examples in *Lorenzaccio*, Alfred de Musset's melancholic drama about a tyrannicide,[25] and were also used by Victor Hugo in *Les Châtiments*, a collection of poems published in 1853 and conceived as a veritable weapon of war to wield against 'the tyrant' Napoléon III. In *'The Seashore*', he describes the procrastinations of Harmodius just before the murder and how his conscience eventually persuades him to move into action.[26] It was a way of using analogy to tackle the question of the punishment suitable for the usurper: Should the emperor be killed in the way that Harmodius had assassinated a tyrant?

However, in the nineteenth century, the vogue for the tyrannicides still remained confined to literature. Even when academic painting reached its peak, the tyrannicides were never chosen as a subject suitable for the Prix de Rome or for the competition in painted sketches run by the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.[27] One factor played a crucial role in this lack of interest: namely, the belated identification of the statuary group, for it was not until the early nineteenth century that, almost simultaneously, Louis-Sébastien Fauvel and Otto von Stackelberg recognised the effigies of Harmodius and Aristogiton as they studied the famous Elgin Throne.[28] Even then, the image was no more than a small two-dimensional reproduction that was unlikely to fire the imagination of artists. It was not until several decades later that Karl Friederichs, in 1859, identified the marble statues in Naples, where they had already been known for many years but had, until then, been thought to be ordinary gladiators.[29] The discovery thus came to the attention of the public only sometime after 1860, when the statues were exhibited in the brand-new National Museum of Naples. So it was not really until the twentieth century that the monument acquired a certain cachet in the visual arts, particularly in Soviet and Nazi propaganda.

Totalitarian Manipulations: The Tyrannicides in 1937

Surprisingly enough, the Tyrannicides became a source of inspiration for both of the major totalitarian regimes of the twentieth century. It all came about in 1937, as Burckhardt Fehr has illuminatingly shown.[30] Soon after the opening of the House of German Art, the Nazis, in July 1937, organised a Day of German Art (*Tag der deutschen Kunst*) in Munich. It featured a grandiose procession with over 3,000 participants. Hermann Kaspar and Richard Knecht, members of the Munich Academy of Fine Arts, who were in charge of this spectacle, had the procession symbolise the successive epochs of German history, each one being represented by several floats bearing sculptures and models of buildings in a common style. 'The Teutonic Age was symbolised by Ägit and Rau, the god and goddess of the sea, beneath the spread wings of the eagle Hresweld. This was followed by the Roman, Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque, Classical and Romantic Ages, and finally by the New Age, which was symbolised by figures representing Faith and Loyalty.'[31] Drawn by horses, these two allegorical sculpted groups were inspired by the effigies of the Tyrannicides, which already figured among the emblems of 'active humanity' in the German tradition (fig. E.2).[32] Each of the groups was composed of two statues of naked men, one grasping a laurel branch, the other holding a torch above his head in a pose characteristic of Harmodius—or at least as he was at that time known to art historians. The Naples copy had been discovered without arms and had been restored with the right arm stretched straight aloft, not bent above his head as Sture Brunnsåker definitively established in the 1950s.[33]

We should hardly be surprised at this allusion to the Tyrannicides in a National-Socialist parade, given that, in the same town and at the same moment, Ernst Buschor, the great expert in sculpture and ceramics, was working on a book devoted to the sculpture by Critius and Nesiotes, which appeared in 1940.[34] Buschor, who had been a professor at the University of Munich ever since 1929, nurtured deep Nazi sympathies and did not hesitate to invoke 'the Greco-Nordic spirit' of Hellenic sculpture. In 1943, he even produced a work of propaganda on the Parthenon for the use of the German troops.[35]

The two sculpted groups were nevertheless by no means servile imitations of the antique statues, for Nazi propaganda manifested scant concern for authenticity. What it sought, in Greek sculpture, was its evocative power. This explains the choice to concentrate solely on Harmodius who, already in Antiquity,

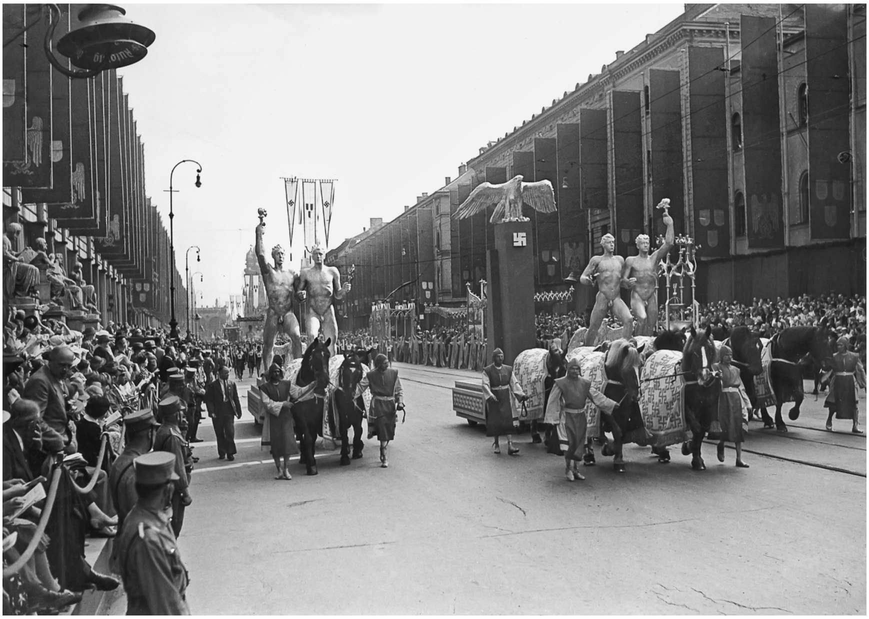

FIGURE E.2 The floats of the New Age, Faith and Fidelity, *Zweite Tag der deutschen Kunst* (Second Day of German Art), 18 July 1937, Munich.

through metonymy, sometimes stood in alone for the entire monument.[36] The pose of the young ephebe sufficed to evoke a powerful image of liberty and liberation. And this was certainly the political aim of the procession, which, as the programme published on the occasion of the festivities proclaimed, was designed to celebrate 'liberation from the chains [of the Treaty] of Versailles' and to mark 'the liberation of the western part of Germany'; in other words, the reconquest of the Rhineland and the reattachment of the Saarland to the Reich, in 1935.[37]

The organisers of the ceremony had, possibly not deliberately, retained the other characteristic element from the original monument: namely, its affinities with the figure of the double. For the organisation of the Nazi parade presented an impressive set of mirror-images: the two statuary groups were positioned on either side of an imaginary axis constituted by a Nazi eagle. A spectacular effect was achieved by attention even to the slightest details, for in the first pair, the Pseudo-Harmodius was placed on the extreme left, in the second pair on the extreme right. From that to detecting an allusion to the mirror-image effect produced by the statuary group on the Agora between Antenor's bronzes and the statues by Critius and Nesiotes, it took no more than a step that there was nothing either to authorise or to prevent.[38]

Such mirror-image games also lay at the heart of the Soviet appropriation of the Tyrannicides. On the occasion of the Paris Universal Exhibition, inaugurated in May 1937, the Soviets placed on top of their pavilion a monumental statuary group distantly inspired by the marble statues of Naples. The symbolic effect was immense since, in the eyes of the entire world, what they were doing was celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution and at the same time outdoing the Nazis who occupied the pavilion right opposite. The architect Boris Iofane won the competition for constructing the pavilion, and the artist Vera Mukhina was commissioned to produce two huge statues, 25 metres high, to symbolise the alliance between 'the worker and the *kolkhoz* [farmer] woman' (to revert to the name by which the work was generally known) (fig. E.3).

As in the case of the Nazis, the reference to the Tyrannicides was by no means faithful. The artist had retained from the ancient group nothing but the pose of Harmodius, as it was at that time known thanks to the statues then exhibited in Naples.[39] And, as in Munich, the work depended upon a striking mirror-image. In effect, the two statues symmetrically adopted the same posture: the left arm of the worker was extended straight forward, grasping a hammer and stretching out alongside the right arm of the peasant-woman, who brandished a sickle, in seemingly perfect agreement.[40]

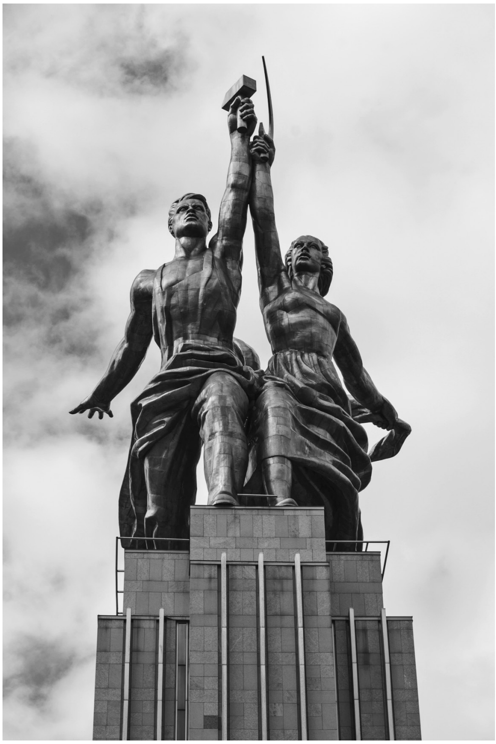

FIGURE E.3 The Worker and the Kolkhoz Woman.

Vera Mukhina (1938).

Despite these formal differences, the reference to the Tyrannicides was by no means accidental and added a symbolic impact to the Soviet monument.[41] In the first place, the two groups, each in their own way, expressed the values of solidarity and complementarity. Where the ancient group discreetly celebrated collaboration between citizens from different age-groups, the Stalinist monument grandiloquently presented an image of the alliance between workers and peasants (the two branches of the proletariat) and collaboration between men and women, here portrayed as enjoying equal rights in the Soviet Union.[42]

Next, the ancient reference made it possible, with a great economy of formal means, to symbolise the USSR's struggle against tyranny in all its forms but, in particular, that of Nazi barbarity. Like Harmodius and Aristogiton, the two Soviet heroes were represented in movement, ready to topple their enemy, in this case Hitler's Germany, whose pavilion happened to be positioned directly opposite (fig. E.4).

Finally, these gigantic statues made of stainless steel were intended to glorify the new-born Soviet constitution, which was effective from 5 December 1936 onward and was described by Stalin himself as 'the most democratic in the world'. The allusion to the Tyrannicides, the democratic icons par excellence, was an elegant way to legitimise the pretensions of the dictator while, at the same time, suggesting that in actual fact the Soviet pupil had now overtaken his Athenian master.

Despite its propagandist nature, the work was given a triumphal reception in the Communist world, and in 1941, its artist-creator received the 'Stalin

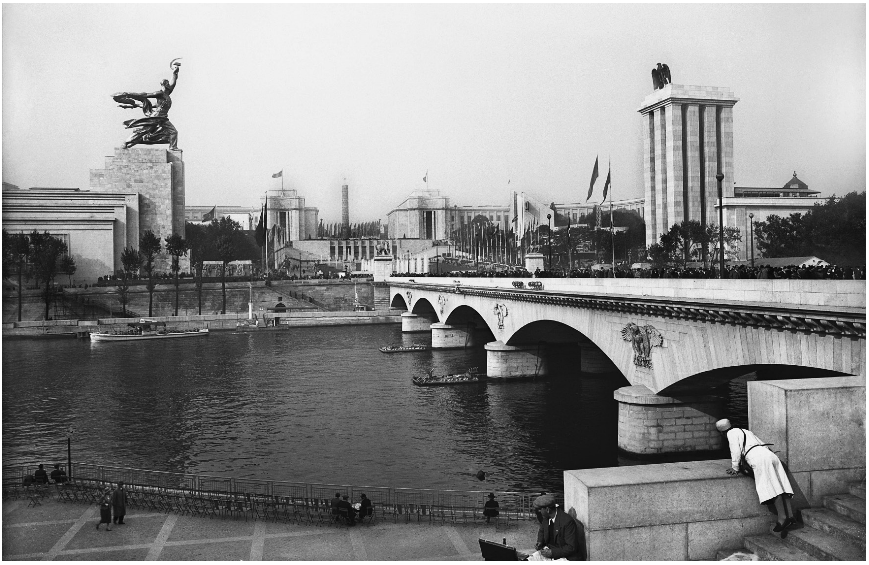

FIGURE E.4 The respective positions of the Russian and the German Pavilions at the Universal Exhibition of Paris.

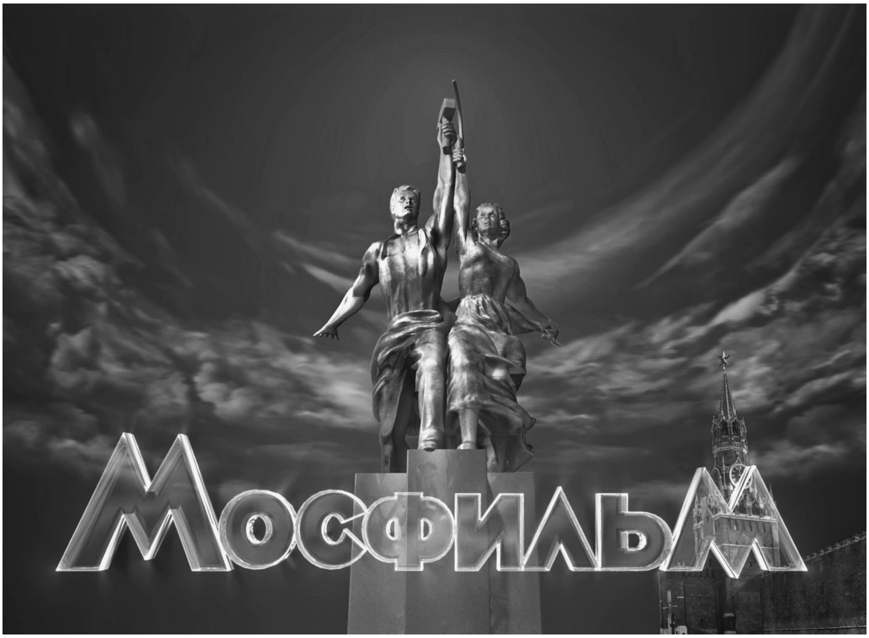

FIGURE E.5 The iconographic recycling of 'The Worker and the Kolkhoz Woman': logo of a cinema studio.

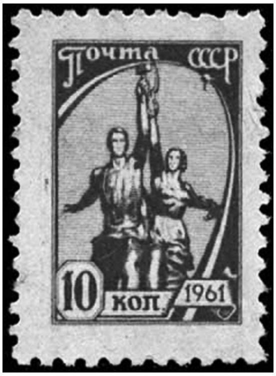

FIGURE E.6 The iconographic recycling of 'The Worker and the Kolkhoz Woman': stamp.

Prize' for it. Like the Tyrannicides, after the Paris Universal Exhibition and after a perilous journey, the group even enjoyed a second life: the statues were taken down (the whole group weighed over eighty tons) and conveyed by lorry from Paris to Moscow, a journey during which they suffered some damage. Between January and August 1939, the effigies were reconstructed and were then placed on a pedestal in front of the northern entrance to the Pan-Russian exhibition centre, where they were swiftly transformed into icons of the Russian

Revolution and became the object of countless iconographic recyclings: postcards, postage stamps, labels on vinyl discs, cinema studio logos (figs. E.5 and E.6). In this way the image was widely diffused thanks to modern technical means that made it possible to reproduce doubles *ad infinitum*. Should we regard this as a baleful way of dissipating the aura of the authentic work, as Walter Benjamin predicted at the time[43]? Perhaps not, if we bear in mind that a copy is not necessarily just a pale counterfeit of a lost original, but may conspire to create a different form of aura that is just as powerful.[44]

At this point, let us finally return to the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton. 'The worker and the *kolkhoz* woman' is a double that is inspired by another double and that, in its turn, produced more doubles and had a fabulous destiny, thereby reproducing a mirror-image of the way that the Tyrannicides group had functioned right from the start.

Conclusion

A historiographical enquiry makes it possible to perceive with piercing clarity what it is that, in a subterranean fashion, structures the life of the Tyrannicides in the long term or '*longue durée*': it is the figure of the double. That is how the biography of the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton could be summed up: the eventful story of two statuary groups, each composed of two effigies that, in the course of time, constantly engendered other doubles. In the first place, iconographic doubles: the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton had an exceptional visual career, sometimes as themselves reproduced upon other materials (vases or ceremonial thrones, or, in the Roman period, in the form of marble or bronze copies; sometimes, in the course of strange role-swapping games, by lending their distinctive appearance to other heroes in the Athenian repertory). Next, statuary doubles: from the early fourth century onward, the Agora took to accommodating a number of effigies constructed on the model of the Tyrannicides and that likewise functioned as doubles (Conon and Evagoras in 394 B.C., Demetrius Poliorcetes and Antigonus the One-eyed in 307 B.C., and Brutus and Cassius in 43 B.C., to which should probably be added Philip and Alexander, Ptolemy II and his sister/wife Arsinoe II, Ptolemy IX and his daughter Berenice, and possibly even Pyrrhus and Lysimachus).[1] And finally, a double narrative: in the Roman period, the story of Harmodius and Aristogiton engendered a new tale—the adventures of Leaina, the courtesan, calqued on the adventures of the two heroes but based on a striking game of mirrors that involved both the group of Tyrannicides set up on the Agora and the statue of a lioness situated on the Acropolis.

The Dynamic of the Double

The entire life of the statues can thus be read under the sign of the double: double, not copy. Far from being anecdotal, the choice of such a lexicon aims to set at a distance Platonic thought about *mimēsis*—a framework within which a copy, however faithful, is never any more than a degraded reflection of the original. The fact is that the many doubles engendered by the Tyrannicides were never exact replicas of the statues on the Agora, and even the copies of the Roman period presented significant variations that testified to the freedom felt by painters and sculptors where the statues on the Agora were concerned.[2] Above all, these doubles were not necessarily conceived as faded likenesses. Far from dissipating the aura of the Tyrannicides, the multiplication of doubles instead helped to reinforce the prestige of the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, as is testified by one indirect proof: the second statuary group was far more popular than the first, even after Antenor's statues had returned to Athens, probably at the end of the fourth century. Furthermore, revealingly enough, all the 'copies' attested in the Roman period were, in effect, modelled on the bronzes by Critius and Nesiotes, not on Antenor's statues.[3]

In this long chain of doubles there is one link, the very first one, that constitutes a blind spot in the thinking devoted to the Tyrannicides. The statues in the Agora were, above all, doubles of the corpses of Harmodius and Aristogiton.[4] In the case of the Tyrannicides, this 'substitutive' function of the effigies was particularly important, given that the two murderers never did receive a proper burial. Hippias must have regarded them as men defiled by a crime committed right in the middle of a religious festival. So it was most probably in the absence of Harmodius' and Aristogiton's corpses that the Athenians, in the fifth century, set up a substitute arrangement that was, itself, doubled by, on one hand, the tomb—or, to be more precise, the cenotaph—in the Ceramicus, and on the other, the statuary group on the Agora. Seen from this angle, the statues of the two heroes might well be related to the *kolossoi*, formerly studied by Jean-Pierre Vernant, which served as substitutes for corpses. Far from being mere images, the effigies of Harmodius and Aristogiton were 'doubles' of the missing corpses, 'just as a dead man is the double of the living one'.[5]

Let us now stand back in order to try to flesh out that hypothesis by comparing the statues of the Tyrannicides to other effigies erected in the same period, in particular those of the regent Pausanias of Sparta. His story is well known: Pausanias, the commander of the Greek troops at Plataea, covered himself in glory in the struggle against the Persians, thereby helping to liberate the Greek cities of Asia Minor between 479 and 477 B.C.[6]

However, intoxicated by his success, he sank into excess, aspiring to become 'the tyrant of all Greece', even if this involved allying himself with his former enemy, the Persian Great King.[7] Soon after 470, the Spartans brought his personal ambitions to a brutal end. Unable actually to lay hands on him, they immured him alive in the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos, where the regent had found refuge. Despite the precautions taken by the Spartans, who brought him out of the sanctuary just before he expired, his death entailed a terrible defilement for the community, which was eventually washed away only by the erection of a double bronze statue of the effigy of the dead man[8]:

> But the god at Delphi afterwards ordered the Lacedaemonians to remove the tomb from the place of his death to where he now lies in consecrated ground, as an inscription on a monument declares, and, as what had been done was a curse to them, to give back two bodies instead of one [*duo sōmata anth' henos*] to the goddess of the Brazen House. So they had two brazen statues [*andriantes duo*] made, and dedicated them as a substitute for Pausanias.[9]

This episode prompted a spate of commentaries that Pierre Ellinger has recently set in perspective in a work devoted to the two persons named Pausanias—the regent of the Classical period, and the author of the imperial period.[10] Without going into detail with respect to former proposed interpretations, we should note that the erection of the statues seems to have been in response to two different justifications. The first was a substitution argument: the two bronze effigies were regarded to have served as substitutes for Pausanias' corpse (according to the principle of 'two bodies for one') and at the same time to have made it possible to pin down the movements of the ghost, which, according to some traditions, was terrorising the entire area.[11] Next, they were a justification in the name of an expiation: the function of the statues was to expiate the defilement contracted by the whole community on this occasion.[12] Perhaps it is even possible to spot a third justification at work in this tale; and it is one that does not exclude the others. The two effigies that the oracle insisted upon might also refer to the fundamental duality of Pausanias the regent who, in plenty of respects, was the embodiment of a double figure, who was at once a liberator and a despot, a tyrannicide and a tyrant, a saviour of Greece and a traitor prepared to treat with the Persians.[13]

There is no obvious connection between the double effigy of Pausanias and the two groups of Tyrannicides, so striking are the differences between the two monuments. Let us list them: in the case of the Tyrannicides, it was the murderers who had statues made of them, not their victim; and, above all, the doubling of Harmodius' and Aristogiton's effigies resulted from an unforeseeable historical twist; namely, the Persians' capture of Antenor's statues, not a ritual of purification insisted upon by the Delphic oracle. Nevertheless, the analogy does alert the reader to a fundamental element that is common to both stories: like the regent Pausanias, Hipparchus was killed in a ritual context, not far from a sanctuary, at a moment when he happened, in a sense, to be under the protection of Athena. Although the assassination of Pisistratus' son does not seem to have engendered any defilement for the Athenians (no doubt because the assassins perished at the time of the attack and their immediate death cancelled any *miasma* incurred[14]), the parallel nevertheless suggests that this bloodshed presented a religious problem for the community. For we should avoid any anachronism here: at the beginning of the fifth century, there was as yet no legislation that ruled that a tyrant could be killed with impunity and that the perpetrator would remain pure (*katharos*), in accordance with the juridico-religious solution that was to be formalised at the end of the fifth century by the decree of Demophantus.[15]

So, at the fall of Hippias in 510, the two murderers probably presented double faces in the eyes of the Athenians: on one hand, heroic, for having sacrificed their lives in seeking to destroy the tyrant; but, on the other, polluted, for having shed the blood of a man on the soil of the Agora in the course of a sacred festival. Considerable effort was required to convert this murder, potentially a vector of contamination, into a founding action of the new isonomic regime.[16] The analogy that this presents with the story of the regent Pausanias suggests that a second hypothesis should be considered: far from reflecting a process of metamorphosis taking place upstream, the erection of the statues sculpted by Antenor could well have contributed actively to this transmutation of a defilement (*agos*) into sanctity (*hagios*). From this point of view, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton were perhaps erected on the Agora not only in order to glorify the two heroes publicly, but also to ward off the terrible powers aroused on the scene of the crime. And it is perhaps in terms of this religious yardstick that we should interpret the alacrity with which the Athenians replaced Antenor's statues that were carried off by Xerxes. Perhaps it was not so much a matter of washing away the affront suffered at the time of the invasion of the city, but rather of continuing to benefit from the protection of the two heroes who, defiled by the murder, now, once they were established on the soil of the Agora in the form of statues, changed themselves into protective powers watching over the democratic regime.[17]

If one accepts that hypothesis, it becomes easier to appreciate the religious aura of the monument and the rituals that were focussed upon the effigies throughout the Classical period[18]; and, symmetrically, it also becomes easier to understand how it was that these statues aroused such strong opposition right up until the fourth century. Despite all the efforts deployed by the community in order to 'whitewash' the Tyrannicides, the statues continued for a long time to carry the stain of the blood that had been shed. Returned to their status of seditious murderers by the more or less declared opponents of democracy, and being the targets of so many sarcastic remarks that they had to be protected by a law forbidding them to be mocked, the tyrannicides never did really become consensual figures in the city. Over a century after their deaths, some Athenians were still questioning the justification for their action, in the same way that the Spartans continued to be blamed for being defiled by the death of Pausanias, despite the double effigy that they had erected in an attempt to expiate their fault.[19]

The turbulent destiny of the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton is therefore worth reassessing in the light of this polarity between sanctity and impurity, glory and shame, honour and infamy. It was that original tension, never completely resolved, that launched the Tyrannicides group into history, bestowing upon them an extraordinary aura and dynamism that was sustained at several key moments by new cycles of alternating insults and celebrations.

Plural Memories: The Tyrannicides and the Construction of Athenian Public Space

It seems to me that this structural tension is also what explains the plural, even conflicting memories that crystallised around the monument in the Classical period. For even if the statues did become 'sites of memory' for Athenian democracy,[20] we need to recognise that that memory never did become consensual and uncontroversial. Alongside the official version of the liberation of Athens that the statuary group symbolised, several alternative traditions were also in circulation, and these suggested a quite different vision of the collapse of tyranny, even on occasion going as far as to question the very legitimacy of the action of the tyrannicides.[21] It was in this atmosphere of conflicting memories that the statues were invested with contradictory meanings, some of them positive, others negative, depending on the political affiliations or family traditions of those gazing at them.

Such disagreements sometimes constituted a blind-spot in the thinking about such 'sites of memory' (*lieux de mémoire*) that are in many cases represented as resulting from a social consensus surrounding a stabilised definition of the past.[22] Far from reflecting a memory fixed once and for all, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton were, on the contrary, the conveyors of a memory that was, over time, constantly undergoing recomposition and that remained in a state of permanent tension throughout their history.

In truth, the meaning of the monument was thoroughly redefined at several key moments, in particular in the course of the first century of its existence. The battle of Marathon was the first marker in this series of metamorphoses: the victory, which revived fear of a return of Hippias, helped to establish a link between the struggle against tyranny and the war against the Persians, although we should not necessarily conclude that the erection of the first statuary group took place after 490. Ten years later, the deportation of Antenor's effigies likewise marked a turning point: the statues sculpted by Critius and Nesiotes that had replaced them on the Agora now came to symbolise the Athenians' struggle against all forms of despotism, not just the Pisistratid instance. In the years between 440 and 430, the increasing antagonism felt against Sparta further increased the prestige of the monument, which now had the advantage of promoting a version of history that concealed the role that the Spartans had played in the liberation of Athens. Finally, the two oligarchic revolutions of 411 and 404, interpreted after the event as tyrannical episodes, had the effect of intensifying the aura surrounding the statuary group, which now became the object of a renewed devotion. Upon emerging from all these trials, the monument seems to have become a focal point for periodic rituals and the sustainer of a ritualised memory.

Throughout the fourth century, such memorialising reconfigurations continued at a regular pace. First, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton acquired a deep new meaning when the first honorific statues, modelled explicitly on the Tyrannicides, were erected on the Agora. Retroactively, this parallel helped to modify the monument's meaning; the statues of the two 'Liberators' now became the model for the honorific public statuary that was then being increasingly formalised in a process that tended to obscure the other meanings that had previously been associated with the statuary group. Secondly, the return to Athens of Antenor's bronzes, probably on the initiative of Alexander in 324 B.C., set off a new semantic trend. From having been the symbols of a liberty seized by force by the Athenians themselves, the two groups, now reunited side by side on the Agora, became the emblem of a liberty conceded to them from outside by Hellenistic sovereigns who, although benevolent enough, were nevertheless alarming. In the years that followed, the Athenians used the statues in an attempt to establish the grounds for an *entente* with the new masters of the eastern Mediterranean. By granting certain Hellenistic kings statues placed within the Tyrannicides' zone,[23] the Athenians kept alive the hope that those kings would feel themselves placed under an obligation by this analogy and, emulating Harmodius and Aristogiton, would agree to defend the city's (internal) autonomy and even its (external) independence.

At the end of the Hellenistic period, the memory of the Tyrannicides evolved further when the monument embarked upon an international career that was based either on the epigrams composed in honour of the two heroes and inscribed in the Aegean islands, or on the 'copies' in bronze or marble that now adorned the rich private residences of both Greek and Roman élites. By the end of this process of internationalisation, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton came to embody an imaginary and ideal Greece that was invented in the Roman period and in relation to which the Romans defined themselves.[24]

Nevertheless, the monument never did become a totally neutralised site of memory. And therein lies the other striking feature of the long-term memorialisation of the Tyrannicides: namely, the group's capacity, over several centuries, to provoke debate and to crystallise clashes. Perhaps, in this respect, it would be helpful to regard the monument as the matrix of a veritable public space, in the strongest sense of the expression. We should be clear, here, about the meaning of the words involved. Historians are often inclined to reduce the public space to a study solely of *public places*—first and foremost the Agora—and adopt a strictly territorial and institutional approach to the phenomenon. That narrow definition is countered by the proposal made by Habermas. He suggests regarding public space in an abstract manner, quite apart from any particular spatial location, as a space for discussions and polemics that develop through unofficial channels.[25]

A study of the eventful life of the Tyrannicides presents an opportunity to interweave those two dimensions that are often analysed quite separately. Clearly, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton played a part in the construction of a public space in the traditional sense of the term, for they were installed in the Agora, probably following a decision made by the Athenian Assembly, on the city's main ritual processional route. For over half a century they were even a sensitive point in community life, for there was no other monument to compete with them or to draw the attention of passers-by. This public space remained lively for several centuries thanks to various forms of periodic veneration (crownings, singing, ritual processions, even offerings), which ensured its continued role. We can infer this from the monument's capacity to organise the surrounding space, magnetically attracting to it the portraits of Hellenistic sovereigns, which consequently stood out from the other benefactors whose statues stood elsewhere on the Agora.

But the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton also combined to create a new type of public space *à la* Habermas by their inexhaustible capacity to arouse discussions and to set off controversies. In the theatre and in the *symposion,* the Tyrannicides rapidly became the subject of both songs and conversations—as Plato's *Symposium* testifies—and one infers, thanks to the evidence of historians and orators, that the veneration surrounding them stimulated clashing reactions. For more than a century, the action of Harmodius and Aristogiton gave rise to discordant interpretations, including ones that ran contrary to the official memory of the event, as it was encapsulated by the statues on the Agora.

The polemics surrounding the Tyrannicides started very early on. From their very birth onward, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton were targeted by Pisistratid attacks (for the monument was specifically aimed against them) and by the counter-attacks from families that prided themselves on having taken part in the struggle against the tyrants. Not all these altercations took an overtly conflictual form: the documentation also indicates reactions that, without directly challenging the official version of the story, were nevertheless at variance with the version conveyed by the statuary group. Such parallel and sometimes discordant memories, which are already perceptible in Herodotus' *Histories*, found an exceptional sounding-board in the wake of the oligarchic revolutions of the late fifth century. Following this sequence of events marked by intense political conflict, Thucydides and the Pseudo-Plato thus offered an abrasive rewriting of the story of the murder, radically challenging the democratic memories associated with the monument.

Throughout the fourth century, the Tyrannicides statues continued to provoke polemics, but these now took quite a different form. The controversy was no longer concentrated so much on the tyrannicides themselves (for, except in Platonic and Aristotelian circles, they were by now definitively established as liberators of the city), but rather on the use to which their memory could be put within the social space: Who had the right to be assimilated to the two heroes, and what form would that assimilation take? Permission to erect the first honorific statues on the Agora gave rise to a lively debate (eventually decided by legal means) between, on one hand, those who wished the Tyrannicides to remain an exception and, on the other, those who accepted the idea of placing the two heroes on the same footing as certain victorious *stratēgoi*.

In the Hellenistic period, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton continued to convey discordant memories. The *diadochi* did not necessarily regard the monument with the same eyes as the Athenians, as is shown by the behaviour of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who crushed underfoot the most sacred traditions of the community that had, after all, allotted him an effigy immediately alongside the two Liberators.[26] Reading between the lines, one also senses the unease felt by some citizens who, like the Achaean historian Polybius, must have regarded the multiplication of statues close to the Tyrannicides as a way of sullying their memory.[27]

Reconsidering the life of the statuary group from the point of view of the divergent interpretations that it inspired as time passed makes it possible to think of the public space as a place that can evolve, sometimes in conflicting ways, at some points going through sudden phases of expansion (when, for instance, the monument became the venue for a multitude of speeches, some positive, some negative), at others periods of retraction (as in the late Hellenistic period, when the statues simply disappeared from all documentation). The Roman period introduced a new cycle of expansion within a framework in which the image of the Tyrannicides now found itself disseminated, in the form of copies, in Italy and beyond, throughout the Mediterranean basin. Disputes about these memorials now took a new form: depending on the contexts and moments, the statues might either be admired for their irreproachable artistry or else criticised for their potentially subversive political impact. Never did they leave spectators indifferent, however: the admiration of Dio of Prusa, the mockery of Lucian and the ambivalence of Plutarch all testify to the liveliness of the reactions that the monument continued to arouse century after century.

It seems to me that the eventful life of the Tyrannicides deserves to be associated with one final interplay of doubles, this time one involving the monument's spectators. As citizens contemplated the statues on the Agora, they were, in effect, invited, according to their age-group, to become doubles of either Harmodius (in the case of the young) or Aristogiton (in that of the more mature). Everything was devised to reinforce this process of identification. Visually, the Tyrannicides were captured in full action, bursting with life, somehow the more so because they stood on the threshold of death. The effect of the extreme nature of this situation was to implicate the spectators emotionally in the scene, particularly given that the absence of Hipparchus made it even more distressing. Faced with these two aggressive figures, ready to cut and thrust, there was no escape: whether friend or foe, one was forced to choose and identify oneself either with the victim or with the murderers.[28]

Politically, the city was in favour of these identification games. In the decree of Demophantus, exhibited on the Agora not far from the statuary group, citizens found themselves promised the same honours as the tyrannicides if they themselves killed a new tyrant. Sometimes that identification went a very long way, as is shown by the case of the *stratēgos* Iphicrates who, in the course of his trial, considered Harmodius and Aristogiton as his own close relatives and even imagined himself fighting alongside them, had they been his contemporaries.[29]

One can well imagine that, faced with such incitements, those who, like Thucydides, had equal and opposite hostile reactions regarded this game of role-playing as a game for dupes. That is a point of view that we should bear in mind when we analyse the mockeries of Aristophanes, bent on deflating the Athenians' propensity to take themselves for Tyrannicides, even to the point of miming their poses in the most ridiculous circumstances.[30]

Perhaps, in the end, it is this ability to prompt some kind of identification—be it positive or negative—that best defines the centuries-long life of the statuary group. That ability of theirs distinguishes the Tyrannicides *de facto* from most of the statues in the round, whether votive or funerary, for the latter implied nothing of the kind: for an Athenian, there could never be any question of identifying with the effigy of some deity in a temple, or some monumental dedication on the Acropolis or one of the dead in the Ceramicus—at least, certainly not in a direct and immediate fashion. It was really such games involving permanent identifications that enabled the Tyrannicides to continue, like a magnet, to attract attention, arousing either fervour or hostility—in a word, to *live*. This book has endeavoured to bring to light the histories of these successive and sometimes conflicting identifications, and I hope that, in this way, it has restored some colour to 'this all too perfect statue sculpted from marble that is all too white'.[31]

APPENDIX }

Iconographic Allusions to the Tyrannicides Group

Rare Direct Allusions: The Tyrannicides Redrawn

Before 403 B.C., there are very few surviving direct allusions to the monument itself. The most famous and the most controversial is to be found on a red-figure *stamnos*, a bowl used for mixing water and wine. It is preserved in Würzburg and dates from around 475–460 B.C.[1] (fig. A.1). At the centre of the scene, a bearded Hipparchus is being attacked from the left by Aristogiton, who stabs at his side with his sword, and from the right by Harmodius, who is ready to finish him off with a sword-thrust. The link with the statuary group is extremely nebulous: not only is the victim depicted on the bowl, but the two Tyrannicides are not represented naked. Furthermore, Aristogiton's pose is quite different from that of his statue. Only the gesture of Harmodius is, visually, relatively akin to the monument in the Agora, so the painter may well instead have been inspired on this occasion by representations of Apollo fighting the Giants.[2] The allusion is thus far from definite, even if one assumes that the painter adjusted certain features of the statuary group but retained the monument's most distinctive element; namely, Harmodius' blow, in order to sustain the ambiguity.

To understand the logic of the image, one should not concentrate exclusively on the scene of the attack but also consider the figures that appear on the other side of the bowl and that are often overlooked by the literature. Three men carrying long sticks are setting off in different directions with their free arms lifted in various positions. They should probably not be identified as Hipparchus' personal bodyguards, since none of them carries any weapon; one is naked, with a cloak folded over his arm, while the other two are clad in nothing but a *himation*. The painter probably wanted to indicate Athenians who took part in the procession and who, horrified at the assassination taking place, are now scattering in all directions.

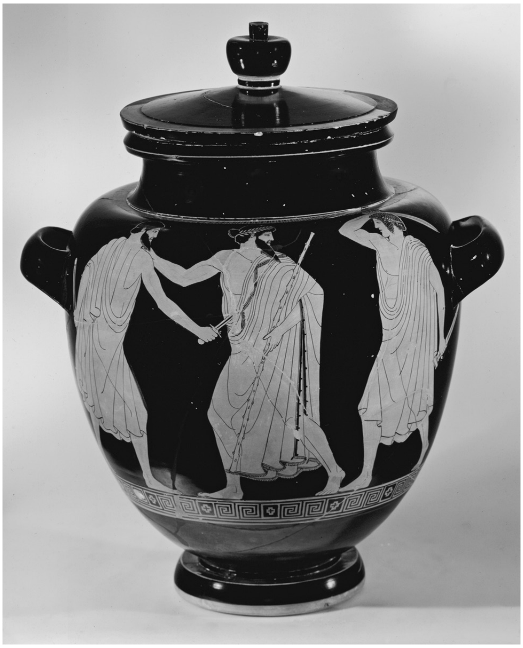

FIGURE A.1 Red-figure Attic stamnos painted by Syriskos.
Würzburg, *Martin von Wagner Museum* L 515 = *ARV*² 256, 5 = *Add*² 204.

A fragmentary *skyphos* preserved in the Villa Giulia and dated from around 460–450 B.C. probably presented a similar scene (fig. A.2). Two inscriptions confirm, on one hand, the identification of Harmodius, whose raised arm is unfortunately all that can be seen of him, and on the other, the presence of Hipparchus, whose hairstyle and clothing seem elegant.[3] The bowl's bad state of preservation rules out any hint of how Aristogiton was represented, but it does at least show dissimilarities comparable to those that characterise the Würzburg image: the victim is represented, the protagonists are clothed (at least, Hipparchus is), and only the posture of Harmodius suggests a connection between the bowl and the statuary group. The painter seems to have been inspired, not so much by the monument on the Agora, as by other traditions relating to the assassination. One of the preserved fragments shows hoplite armour lying on the ground (helmets and shields), which could constitute a reference to a scene reported by Thucydides (6.58.1–2). According to the historian, just after the attack, members of the procession had their weapons confiscated by Hippias in order to enable his guards safely to arrest any plotters carrying daggers.[4]

Far from meekly imitating the two statues sculpted by Critius and Nesiotes, these two bowls dating from 470–450 thus display rival representations of the scene of the murder, in which the figures involved are caught up in the movements of the crowd, which are at odds with the sacralisation of the two effigies on the Agora, isolated there on their pedestal. Crowd scenes on one hand,

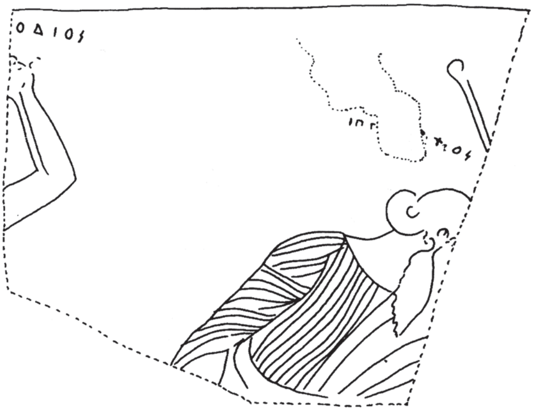

FIGURE A.2 Fragmentary Skyphos (460–450 B.C.).
Villa Giulia, Rome, Inv. 50321. Drawing: F. Lissarrague (with his permission).

political icons on the other. Here we have a striking contrast that should surely be related to the active gestation of radical democracy and that reflects the development of plural memories connected with the assassination. Such divergences testify to the persistence of tenacious latent memories, which, without contradicting the official memory, are nevertheless not absorbed by its discourse and pursue a parallel existence.

It definitely seems that only the small black-figure lecythus by the Emporion Painter, known as the ‘Skaramanga lecythus’ (470–460 B.C.[5]), relates closely to the group on the Agora (fig. A.3). On this, the two tyrannicides appear naked, in the characteristic poses of their effigies, and Hipparchus is left out of the scene. All the same, it would be a mistake to regard this as a slavish replica of the statuary group. The representation of Harmodius as left-handed (a mistake by the painter?), the slightly different positioning of his arms, the long hair and imposing beard of Aristogiton certainly constitute shifts away from Critius’ and Nesiotes’ bronzes; above all, the figures are represented, not standing beside each other, but one behind the other, so as to convey the dynamic aspect of their action. So the painter was alluding to the Agora statues, but he re-drew them to serve the two-dimensional organisation of a vase-painting and to create an impression of movement. Similar organisational shifts are noticeable in cases where painters are inspired by other statuary groups, in particular the statues of the Eponymous Heroes installed on the other side of the Agora.[6]

Before 450, the monument thus does not appear to have affected the imagination of Athenian painters to the point of imposing itself as an inevitable model.[7] The fact is that painting is not governed by the same logic as statuary: ‘Whereas ceramics produce a narrative image, statuary favours a symbolic image that displays the energy and gestures of the liberators: ceramics and statuary do not play the same role, and the context of their reception alters the nature of the image. Drinkers like stories, the city needs emblems.’[8]

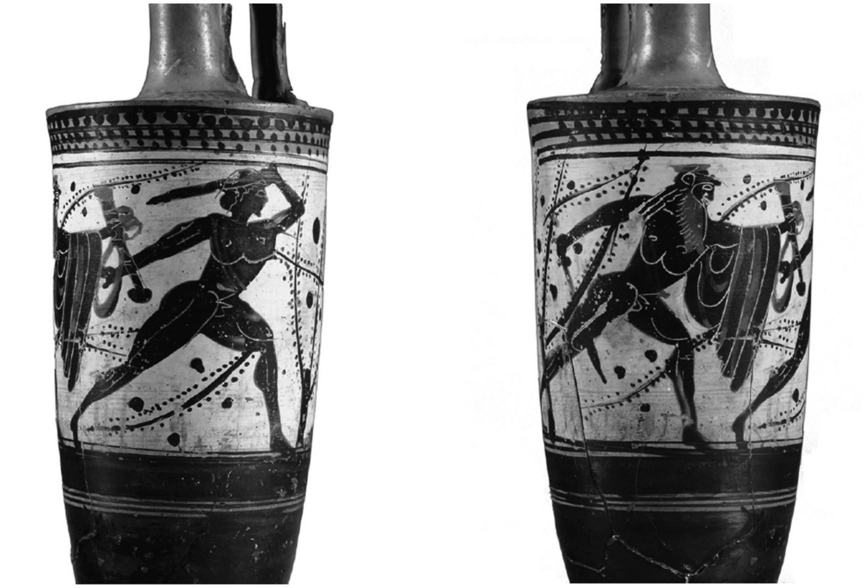

FIGURE A.3 Black-figured lecythus by the Emporion painter ('Skaramanga lecythus', 470–460 B.C.). Vienna, Inv. 5247

To find a clear and positive allusion to the Tyrannicides statues, we need to leave Attica and head for the Propontis and the Black Sea, a zone then vulnerable to Athenian domination, within the framework of the League of Delos. The monument is pictured on the obverse of several coins minted in Cyzicus[9] in Mysia between 470 and 404 B.C., although it is unfortunately not possible to be more precise about the dating[10] (fig. A.4). These staters made of electrum (an alloy of gold and silver) bear two very different images: on one hand, the Tyrannicides group, seen in profile and easily recognisable from the postures of the two statues standing side by side; on the other, a tuna fish, the emblem of Cyzicus, which seems to serve as a base for the two effigies. In this strange visual arrangement, it is tempting to detect the reflection of a hierarchy between the two cities: Athens' domination over Cyzicus seems to be expressed by the relative positions of the two images, one clearly dominating the other. At the very least it is possible to detect a manifest abandonment of sovereignty; so it may be apposite at this point to mention the decree of Clearchus, which, at a date hard to determine, imposed upon the allies of the Delian League the use of Athenian silver coinage.[11] Excepted from this ruling (since they were minting coins in electrum),[12] the people of Cyzicus may have chosen to manifest their allegiance to the democratic city by honouring the two Tyrannicides. Actually, there were other Athenian figures that likewise benefited from that same privilege, in particular Cecrops, Gaia and Erichthonius, Triptolemus, and, of course, Athena (fig. A.5).[13]

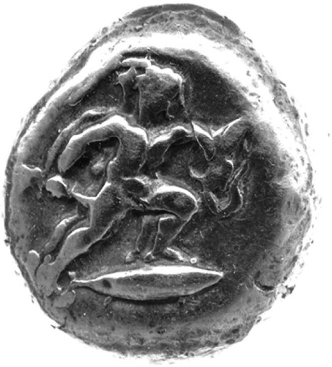

FIGURE A.4 Electrum staters of Cyzicus: the group sculpted by Critius and Nesiotes.

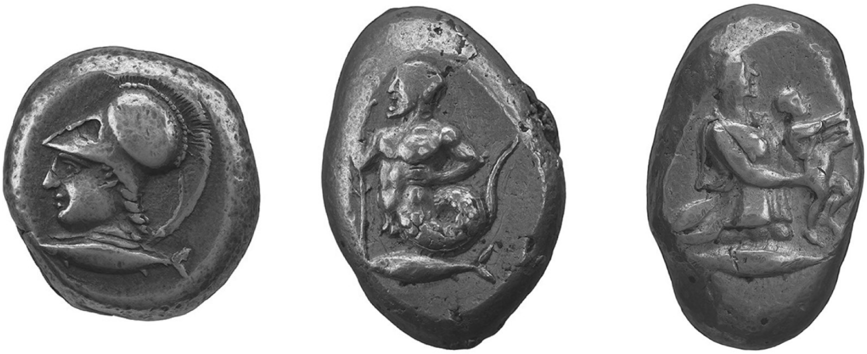

FIGURE A.5 Electrum staters of Cyzicus: Athena, Cecrops, and Erichthonius.

The Cyzicus coinage allows us to draw two complementary conclusions: in the first place, by the second half of the fifth century, the tyrannicides had clearly acquired a status equivalent to that of the founding and civilising heroes of Attica, for the people of Cyzicus set them on the same level as the two first autochthonous kings of the city and the hero who first brought grain to humanity and founded the Mysteries of Eleusis; secondly, it was certainly the bronze effigies that, outside Athens at least, now provided the authorised representation of the two liberators. Within the city, the monument's popularity manifested itself more obliquely, through indirect forms of allusion that brought into play other heroic figures.

Frequent Oblique Allusions: The Tyrannicides Transfigured

The iconography connected with the Tyrannicides was particularly close to that of Theseus,[14] probably because, each in his own way, all three heroes were considered as founders (or re-founders) of the Athenian political regime. At least that is what Pausanias suggests (1.3.3.) when he writes about the paintings on the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, on the Agora:

> The painting represents Theseus as the one who gave the Athenians political equality [*ex isou politeuesthai*]. By other means also has the report spread among men that Theseus bestowed sovereignty upon the people, and that from his time they continued under a democratical government, until Pisistratus rose up and became tyrant.[15]

In short, by bringing the Pisistratid parenthesis to a close, Harmodius and Aristogiton reproduced the inaugural gesture of Theseus.

PUBLIC HOMAGE: THE TYRANNICIDES AND THEIR DOUBLES

On public monuments, imitation functioned in reverse. Here, it was Theseus who reproduced the gestures of the Tyrannicides, particularly in the friezes of the Hephaestion. This building, constructed entirely in marble between 440 and 430,[16] was by far the most sumptuous monument on the Agora of Athens. There was nothing surprising about its distinctive luxury, for, to varying degrees, the building celebrated the entire holy family of the gods and heroes that had founded the city. Hephaestus and Athena were worshipped there as not only the patrons of artisans, but also the protagonists in the tale of autochthony. Significantly enough, the base upon which the two religious statues stood represented the birth of Erichthonius, the first Athenian, who was born from the very earth.[17] As for Theseus, he was honoured in the metopes that surrounded the temple. In fact, there were so many of these that, for a long time, interpreters believed that it was to him that the building was dedicated. Through the interplay of visual associations, the Tyrannicides also found their place on this edifice laden with symbols, for in the western frieze, Theseus was represented in the pose of Harmodius, and in the eastern frieze in that of Aristogiton (fig. A.6).

To be sure, several differences from the statuary group are detectable, such as Harmodius' bent left arm and Aristogiton's long *himation* that stretches backward. But the allusion is nevertheless very clear, since Theseus adopts the respective distinctive poses of the two Tyrannicides, each in turn. Furthermore, the visual environment predisposed the spectator to make the identification for himself, for the statues sculpted by Critius and Nesiotes stood in line with the temple about one hundred metres below it, with nothing in between to block the view (fig. 3.1)[18].

Although certain scholars have thought they detected similar cases in official paintings and sculptures, their comparisons are too superficial to carry conviction[19]: simply to spot, on some monument, a warrior with a raised arm is not enough to justify claiming it to be an allusion to the statue of Harmodius[20]! Otto

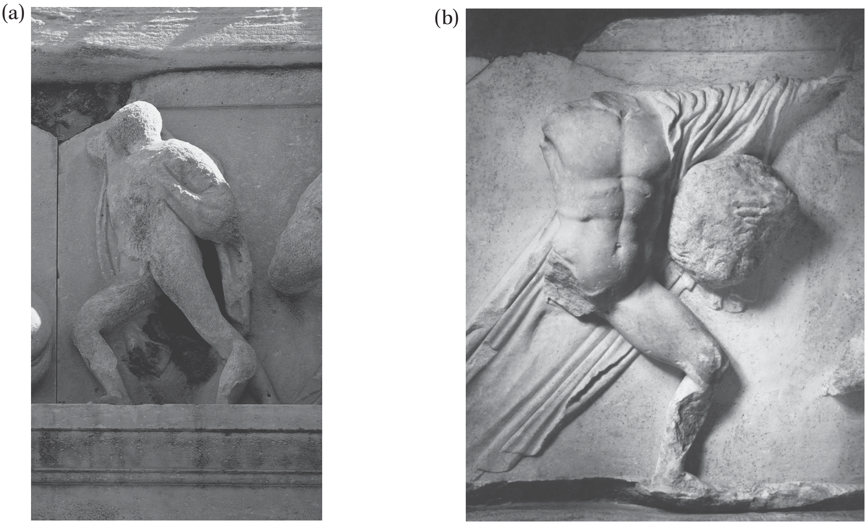

FIGURE A.6A AND A.6B The eastern and western friezes of the Hephaestion: the exploits of Theseus. From Morgan (1962) 226, pl. 82.

Benndorf, in his day, laid down a strict rule on this matter: only images that simultaneously reproduced the poses of both Tyrannicides deserved to be considered as veritable allusions to the statuary group.[21] From this point of view, Theseus seems to have been the only figure to be represented in a Tyrannicide's pose within a public framework. In the same period, this association, which was destined to be a lasting one,[22] was also reflected on the table-ware used in *symposia*.

PRIVATE EVOCATIONS: THE CASE OF THESEUS

The representations of Theseus on Attic pottery have been the subject of so many studies[23] that we need only recapitulate the main findings of those analyses. At the end of the Archaic period, Theseus had a youthful appearance; then, in the course of the 460s, he acquired a heroic look, before, in the 450s and up until the end of the century, becoming regularly represented in the poses of the two Tyrannicides.[24] Numerous vases offer us a chance to assess these impressive mirroring effects.

The most famous is a kylix by the Codros Painter, which is preserved in the British Museum.[25] Dating from around 440–430, it shows Theseus confronting the Crommyonian Sow, adopting the stance of Aristogiton, and then battling against Sciron, the brigand, in the manner of Harmodius (fig. A.7). A slightly later bowl (around 430–420 B.C.) in Madrid, painted by Aison, presents the same formal structure[26] but introduces a few differences from the earlier scenes (fig. A.8). While the allusion to the Tyrannicides seems more direct, in that Theseus-Harmodius and Theseus-Aristogiton are represented side by side, on the other hand, the painter has taken more liberties with the general appearance of the statues, in particular where the pose of Harmodius is concerned, for the hero's arm is shown as only half-bent, in an intermediary position (fig. A.9).[27]

However, some scholars deny the very presence of such mirroring effects. For instance, Thomas Carpenter points out that, to attack Sciron, Theseus grasps the utensil that the brigand uses when he forces his victims to wash his feet.[28] This observation leads Carpenter to suggest a quite different interpretation of the scene: far from alluding to Harmodius, the painter seems, rather, to be referring to Apollo, who, in the battle against the Giants, sometimes seized hold of his adversary's *machaira*, adopting an altogether similar pose. Tempting though it is, this hyper-critical view is not convincing and for one good and simple reason: these vases recycle images of Harmodius and Aristogiton *at the same time,* and it is the combination of the two poses within the same image that confirms the validity of the allusion.

The fact remains that Carpenter's iconoclastic study does have the huge virtue of alerting any interpreter to misleadingly anodyne details. The fact that

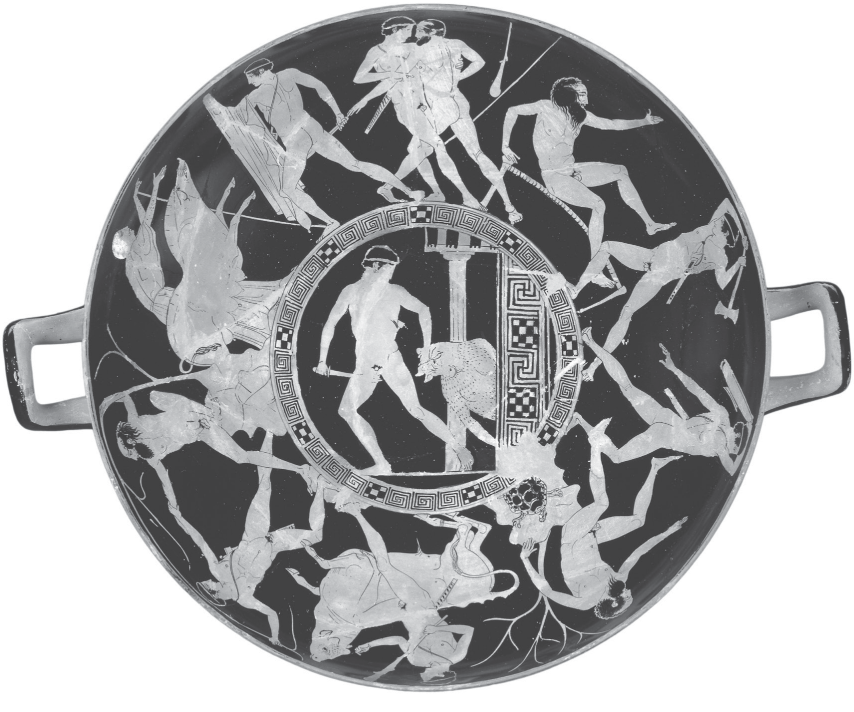

FIGURE A.7 Red-figure kylix by the Codros Painter (c. 440/ 430 B.C.).
London, British Museum, E 84 = *ARV*^{2} 1269, 4.

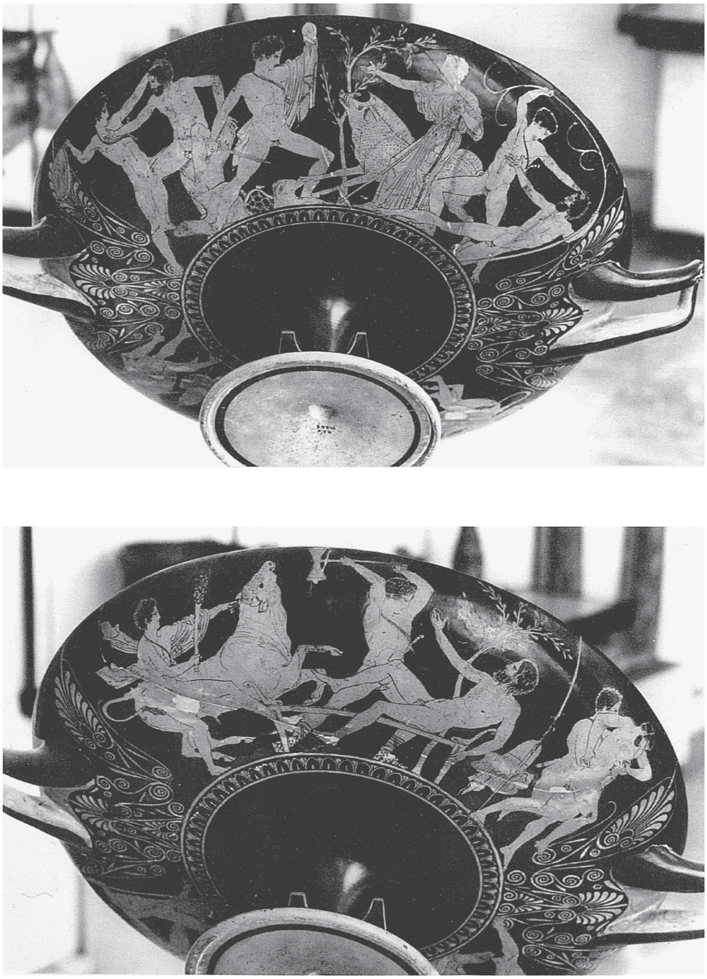

FIGURE A.8 Red-figure kylix by the painter Aison (430–420 B.C.).

Madrid, *Museo Arqueològico*, no. 11265 = *ARV*^{2} 1174, 1 = *Add*^{2} 339. From Olmos Romero ed. (1992).

Theseus makes use of a foot-bath to fell Sciron is not meaningless. Having detected the reference to Harmodius, a spectator could not fail to notice the incongruity between the glorious weapon wielded by the tyrannicide and the grotesque utensil that Theseus uses[29]! But is that reason enough to judge the allusion to be unlikely, as Thomas Carpenter and Ralf von den Hoff do[30]? In my opinion, certainly not. On the contrary, this inconsistency testifies to an essential aspect of all iconographic variations: namely, their playful character. For it would be wrong to be too solemn about these visual games in which some scholars have on occasion claimed to detect a veritable political manifesto that reflects the democrats' efforts to prise the figure of Theseus away from the

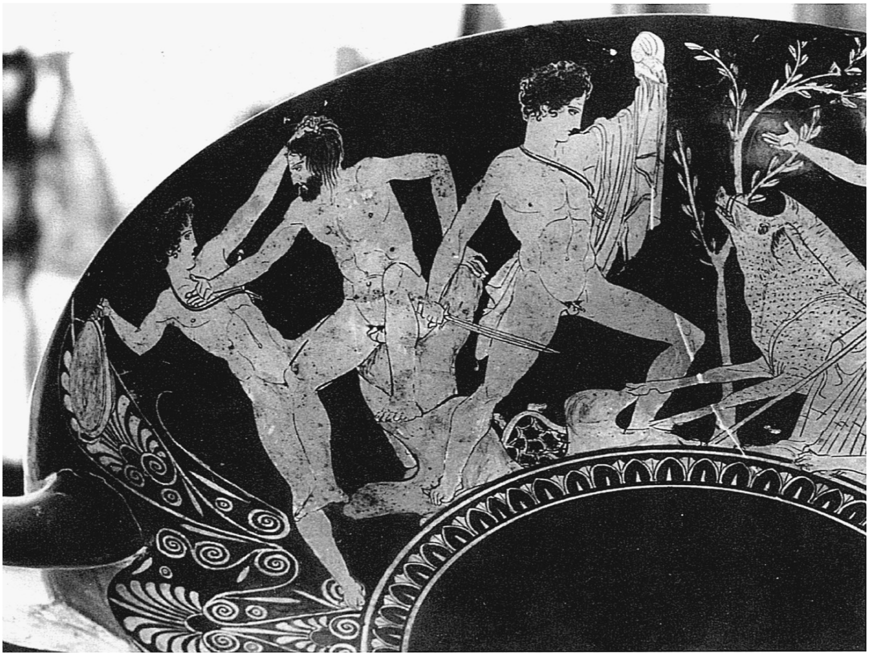

FIGURE A .9 Red-figure kylix by the painter Aison (detail).
Madrid, *Museo Arqueològico*, no. 11265 = *ARV*^{2} 1174, 1 = *Add*^{2} 339.

camp of Cimon and the oligarchs.[31] The truth is that these allusions become meaningful within the *symposion* culture where, under the sign of Dionysus, the tyrannicides were evoked in a manner often flattering, sometimes equivocal, but always to the great delight of the banqueters.

NOTES

Introduction

1. There may be heroic resonances here (Heracles and Achilles, for instance, are each ascribed the heart of a lion: see Homer, *Iliad*, 5.639, *Odyssey*, 11.237; Hesiod, *Theogony*, 1007), but in a democracy that called itself egalitarian, there was nothing flattering about such a connection. In Herodotus, the animal is associated with legends surrounding the births of certain tyrants, in particular Cypselus of Corinth (5.92.3).

2. Cf. Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, 4.6.12; *Cyropaedia*, 1.3.18; Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1.8.1366a. See, in this connection, Carlier (1984) 234 f.

3. The opposition between king and tyrant was theorised by Aristotle. In the rigorous classification proposed in *Politics*, Book 3, kingship was presented as one of the three correct (*orthos*) constitutions, tyranny being a distorted (*parekbasis*) form that corresponded to it (cf. e.g. Aristotle, *Politics*, 3.7.1279a23 f.).

4. On the tyrant in tragedy, see Lanza (1977) and Seaford (2003).

5. It was probably in 566 that the Panathenaea were reorganised and an exceptional four-yearly celebration was introduced. Cf. Eusebius, *Chronica, Olympiad,* 53.3–4. On the political significance of this reorganisation, see Aloni (1984); Parker (1996) 89–90.

6. I shall not be using the term 'tyrannoctone' as it is not attested before Diodorus Siculus (16.14.1) in the first century B.C. See Friedel (1937) 2; Petre (1997) 1208. Conventionally, I shall be using a small 't' to designate the individuals (the 'tyrannicides'), and a capital (the 'Tyrannicides') to refer to their statues.

7. See Ridgway (1970) 12; Stewart (1997) 245; Rolley (1994) 329; Neer (2010) 78.

8. Friederichs (1859) col. 65–72. See Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 62 (and n. 36).

9. Richter (1928); Buschor (1940).

10. Brunnsåker (1971) [1955].

11. Taylor (1991) [1981]. The second edition includes no substantial modifications to the author's text and, besides, does not refer to the bibliography that appeared in the interval, or, in particular, to the important book by Burkhardt Fehr.

12. Taylor (1991) [1981] xv (preface to the 2nd edn.).

13. Fehr (1989) [1984]. Nor does this work cite the book by Michael Taylor: so the ignorance of the two authors is mutual.

14. Fehr (1979).

15. See *infra*, pp. 169–174.

16. Harmodius' gesture is the subject of a monograph by Suter (1975) and of an important article by Carpenter (1997). See *infra*, pp. 42–43.

17. What come to mind, in particular, are the (desperate?) efforts of von Hees-Landwehr (1985), in his attempt to reconstruct the appearance of Antenor's statues. See *infra*, p. 201 (and note 34).

18. To quote from Ma (2005) 141: 'The approach might be considered biographical, in that it reconstructs imaginatively the life cycle of a particular statue, from its original political context to its final destruction; or archaeological, in that it follows the stratigraphy of meaning for a particular monument, and even on this monument, in its changing social world.'

19. Gernet 1981 [1968] 106 (concerning the tripod of the Seven Sages).

20. Here Louis Gernet follows up the intuitions of M. Mauss who, in his famous work *The Gift* (1990) [1923–1924], shows how porous the distinction between persons and things is in ancient societies. See also Jeudy-Ballini and Juillerat (2002) 18–24.

21. Kopytoff (1986) 65–91.

22. Marotel (1999).

23. Foucault (2002) [1969] 6–8; Foucault (1997) [1968] 297–333.

24. See, taking a similar perspective, Tanner (1992); Tanner (2000).

25. One thinks of the famous book by Freedberg (1989), which draws attention to the ability of images to urge spectators 'to specific actions and behaviour' (p. xxii). See also Warnier (2009).

26. Loraux (2002) 45–62.

27. Loraux (2002) 16: 'How can one plausibly claim that violence arises from homogeneity except by invoking the regression of men who 'return to savagery' somewhere on this side of the human, or by raising the figure of the tyrant, the wolf man, beast or god, who is excluded from the city because he weighs too heavily on it?'

28. Loraux (2005) 32. A similar formulation is to be found in Loraux (2002) 66.

29. Symptomatically, Nicole Loraux, in her article 'Inquiry into the Historical Construction of a Murder', [1985] (2000) 65–82, among all the records of the event, takes into account only the text of Thucydides, without ever mentioning the existence of the statuary group in the Agora.

30. See *infra*, chapters 5 and 6.

31. In this connection, see the remarks of Prost (2009) 254: '[Statues] go through diastolic and systolic phases that rule out reconstituting, in a linear fashion, a [. . .] predetermined history for them.'

32. Take, for example, the Contents list of the otherwise stimulating book by Holtzmann (2010) 47–68.

33. See Carpenter (1997), and *infra*, p. 43.

34. On this subject, see Prost (2009) 245 and 251.

35. See Scheer (2000), and, more recently, Mylonopoulos (2010) 1–19.

36. See, e.g., Keesling (2010) 87–103.

37. As Dio Chrysostom notes with alarm, *Rhodian Oration,* 31.91–93. Cf. Pausanias, 1.2.4: in Athens, a statue of Poseidon on horseback, fighting the giant Polybotes, is reused as an honorific portrait. On this subject, see Platt (2006) 247–271.

38. Keesling (2003) 160–161 252, n. 113, suggests using this yardstick to analyse the case of a *korē* (MAcr 386) holding in her hand an unidentified object resembling a piece of meat (possibly a liver or a kidney). Since she is receiving part of a sacrifice, this statue must have played a significant part in some ritual. Such practices are attested on the island of Chios, where an allusion is made to viscera 'in the hands and on the knees [*eis cheiras kai gounata*]' of statues. Cf. *LSCG* 119 (priesthood of Heracles, 4th century B.C.); *LSCG* 120 (priesthood of a goddess, 4th century B.C.); and *LSCG,* Suppl. 76–77 (4th century B.C.), 78 (2nd century B.C.), and 129 (5th century B.C.).

39. Prost (2009) 255–256.

40. See Duplouy (2005) 276.

41. Geertz (1973) 3–30. Geertz borrows the term from the philosopher Gilbert Ryle, who forged it precisely in relation to a statue, Rodin's 'Thinker': Ryle (1971) 465–496.

42. Queyrel (2009) 461.

43. See Prost (2009) 257–258.

44. Ginzburg (2012) 222, who adds: 'Anyone who studies the functioning of a society beginning from the entirety of its norms or from statistical fictions such as the average man or the average woman, inevitably remains on the surface of things.'

45. Thomas (2005) 71–73.

46. Ginzburg (1989).

47. Spivey (1996) 114.

Chapter 1

1. Lacan (1992) [1986] 242.

2. Winckelmann (1765). In this connection, see Decultot (2000) 135–140.

3. The story was taken up again by Diodorus Siculus, in the first century B.C. (9.1.4 and 10.17.1–3).

4. In the *Athenian Constitution*, 18.4, Pseudo-Aristotle implicitly sets himself in opposition to Thucydides (6.58.2) when he says: 'but the current story that Hippias made the people in the procession fall out away from their arms and searched for those that retained their daggers is not true.' Similarly, Diodorus Siculus (10.127.1), reading between the lines, criticises Pseudo-Aristotle's version that made Thettalus, the brother of Hipparchus and Hippias, the one who insulted Harmodius. These divergences are analysed in detail by Hirsch (1926).

5. To use the expression of Ps.-Aristotle (*Athenian Constitution*, 18.5: *hōs men hoi dēmotikoi phasin*).

6. Aristophanes, Thucydides, Plato, and Aristotle all belong to the informal group of dissenters more or less openly opposed to the civic ideology—a group described by Ober (1998).

7. Lang (1954–1955); Fitzgerald (1957); Fornara (1968) 400–424; and Loraux (2000) [1996] 71–81.

8. On the exact nature of the insult to Harmodius' sister, see Lavelle (1986) 318–331, according to whom the outrage was of a sexual nature (expressed in either actions or words).

9. See in particular Hoffmann and Deniaux (2009) 27.

10. Cf. Hyperides, *Funeral Oration,* 6.39. In truth, at the visual level, the statuary group does reflect such an erotic link (see *infra*, p. 41).

11. On this, see Allen (2000) 157–160, and Azoulay (2011) 193.

12. See Lanza (1977) 49–50 and 124; Rosivach (1988) 53–54, who, however, draws an anachronistic separation between the political and the non-political.

13. Cf. Ps.-Plato, *Hipparchus*, 229C–D.

14. Thucydides implicitly sets up a mirror-image comparison between this unreflective bold action (*alogistos tolmē*) and the behaviour of the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War, in particular the undertaking of the Sicilian expedition. See Wohl (2002) 152–156.

15. According to Thucydides, strictly speaking one cannot call the murder 'tyrannicide' since it was Hipparchus' brother, Hippias, who held the power (6.55.1–3). As for

Pseudo-Aristotle (*Athenian Constitution*, 18.2), he claims that the author of the insult was not Hipparchus, but his brother Thettalus. See, e.g., Monoson (2000a) 50.

16. Herodotus, 6.123.2: 'For these did but enrage the rest of Pisistratus' kin by killing Hipparchus, and did nothing to end the rule of the rest of them.' Cf. Thucydides (6.59.1–2), who claims that actually the tyranny was by no means harsh prior to the murder (6.54.5–6); Ps.-Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 19.1; Ps.-Plato, *Hipparchus*, 229B.

17. Cf. Thucydides, 1.20.2; 6.57.2; Ps-Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 18.2–3.

18. Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, 7.4.31. See *infra*, pp. 75–76.

19. See Ajootian (1998) 5–6.

20. See *infra*, pp. 77–80.

21. See Hoffmann and Deniaux (2009) 27–28.

22. Parker (1983) 159–160.

23. Cf. Herodotus, 5.71.5; Plutarch, *Solon*, 12.1–2. According to Thucydides (1.126.10–11), Cylon escaped; it was only his followers who took refuge, as suppliants, close to the altar on the Acropolis.

24. For a hypothetical reconstruction of the conspiracy of Cylon and his followers, see Ruzé (1997) 329–333. For an anthropological interpretation of the episode, Ellinger (2005) 124–130.

25. Megacles (III), the uncle of Pericles, was ostracised twice, the first time in 486 (cf. Lysias, *Against Alcibiades,* I, 14.39). An *ostrakon* found in the Ceramicus explicitly describes the Alcmaeonid as 'cursed' (*aliteiros*) while clearly referring to the Cylonian *agos*. See Brenne (1994) 16–17.

26. See *infra*, pp. 63–64.

27. Andocides, *On the Mysteries*, 1.98. In the fourth century, the tyrannicide was thus included in the mixed list of murderers who attracted no defilement. Cf. Demosthenes, *Against Aristocrates,* 23.54. On this subject, see Vernant (1990) [1953–1954] 125; Eck (2012) 290–299.

28. Hoffmann and Deniaux (2009) 28.

29. See *supra*, p. 17.

30. Thucydides, 6.54.5–6 (the altar of the twelve gods, on the Agora, the altar of Apollo in the Pythion).

31. On the attacks on the Tyrannicides at the end of the fourth century, see *infra*, p. pp. 86–89.

32. Plutarch, *Solon*, 12.3. See Ruzé (1997) 330.

33. On this point, see Shear (2012a) 42–50.

34. Cf. Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus*, 576–591 (on the protection afforded by Oedipus' corpse); Herodotus, 1.67–68; and Pausanias, 3.3.5–6 (the bones of Orestes, guaranteeing the invincibility of Sparta faced with Tegea).

35. On this subject, see Vernant (1990) [1953–1954]. See *infra*, Conclusion, p. pp. 175–178.

36. The term is repeated at 6.56.1: 'So, then, when Harmodius had repulsed his suit, Hipparchus insulted him [*proupēlakisen*: literally 'dragged him through the mud'], as he intended.' Cf. Aristotle, *Politics*, 5.10.1311a36–39: 'For example, the attack on the Pisistratids took place because they outraged [*propēlakisai*: literally, 'covered in mud'] Harmodius's sister and treated Harmodius with contumely.' On this matter, see Meyer (2008) 17.

37. Cf. Thucydides, 6.59.2: 'After this the tyranny became harsher for the Athenians, and Hippias, being now in greater apprehension, not only put to death many of the citizens [. . .]'. See Loraux (1996) 74.

Chapter 2

1. Cf. Herodotus, 5.62–64 (the exile of Hippias) and 8.53–55 (the capture of Athens and the return of those banished).

2. For a list of the sources concerning Antenor's group, see Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 39–40.

3. Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, 2.10.ext.1; Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 34.9.17; Arrian, *Anabasis*, 3.16.7–8 and 7.19.2; Favorinus [Dio Chrysostom], *Corinthian Discourse*, 37.41.

4. On the appearance of the monument, nothing is known for certain (except that it was in bronze, according to Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, 2.10.ext.1; and Arrian, *Anabasis*, 3.16.7–8 and 7.19.2), unless one assumes that the second group was inspired by the first, as Raubitschek (1949) 483 does. However that is by no means certain, as Mattusch (1988) 118, 121, and 124–125 points out.

5. See *infra*, pp. 27–28.

6. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1.9.1368a17.

7. Hölscher (1998) 158–160.

8. This characteristic series nevertheless came brutally to an end in the late sixth century, possibly following the sumptuary laws passed in Cleisthenes' period. Aristodicus' *kouros*, dated around 510 B.C., is therefore one of the last Attic funerary statues. See Rolley (1994) 174.

9. MAcr 642, *c.* 570–550 B.C. The base, which was found nearby, was dedicated to a certain '[Rh]ombos'.

10. The horseman known as *Rampin*, erected in Athens between 560 and 545 B.C., wore in his hair a crown of ache, a type of wild celery used to crown winners in the Isthmic Games. See Holtzmann and Pasquier (1998) 132–133, and Prost (1998).

11. In the absence of sources, it is impossible to determine with certainty where Antenor's statues were placed, although most scholars assume that they stood on the Agora (which was moved during the sixth century), where the second group was installed after the second Persian War.

12. On the question of ritual acts performed in honour of the Tyrannicides, see *infra*, pp. 74–86. and among other works, Hölscher (1973) 85–86.

13. Cf. e.g. Pindar, *Pythians,* 5.93 (Battus); Thucydides, 5.11.1 (Brasidas). On this misleading parallel, see Shear (2012a) 39.

14. See *infra*, pp. 100–105, on the *a posteriori* reinterpretation of the Tyrannicides statues as an honorific monument.

15. Pliny is probably inspired here by Heliodorus the Periegete, in his *Peri Mnēmatōn*.

16. Stewart (1997) 70.

17. Holtzmann (2010) 63–64. Commemorative statuary 'would honour a famous figure, in many cases long after his death [. . .], whereas honorific statues would be granted by the community during the lifetime of the *honorandus*'. See also Mattusch (1988) 119, and Muller-Dufeu (2011) 178, who forged the category of 'the commemorative statuary group'.

18. Among the supporters of the first option, see, among others, Lévêque and Vidal-Naquet 1996 [1964], 57–61; Ostwald (1969) 131–133; Fornara (1970) 157; Taylor (1991) [1981] 13–14; Thomas (1989) 257–261; McGlew (1993) 150–156 (especially 154–155); Krumeich (1997) 57–58; Castriota (1998) 213–215; Keesling (2003) 173; Anderson (2003) 203–204 (*c.* 500 B.C.); Shear (2012a) 34–35.

19. This hypothesis was advanced for the first time at the very beginning of the twentieth century by Corssen (1903) 350–351 (who suggested the date of 487 B.C.). Among supporters of this late dating, see, among others, Raubitschek (1940) 58, n. 2, and Raubitschek (1949) 513; Jongkees (1947) 159–160; Jacoby (1949) 160–162; Moggi (1971); von Hees-Landwehr (1985) 27–46; Prag (1985) 102–103; Gafforini (1989) 17; Lavelle (1993) 52; Berti (2004) 164–165; Flaig (2004).

20. Vienna, *Oster. Mus.*, Inv. 5247 (*AS* IV 3644).

21. The lecythus does not slavishly reproduce the iconography of the statuary group, insofar as it can be reconstituted (see *infra*, pp. 39–44): in the first place, Harmodius and Aristogiton are represented one in front of the other, not side by side. Secondly, Harmodius' left arm is flung back; and finally, Aristogiton is represented with long hair and an impressive beard.

22. Becatti (1957). Becatti dates the lecythus to the end of the sixth century so as to be able to connect it with Antenor's group. His reasoning is not only speculative but also circular, since the lecythus is dated in accordance with the presumed date of the first statuary group! Other scholars have tried—with scant success—to find other echoes of the first group, sculpted by Antenor. See in particular Schefold (1944) and (1945); to support his argument, he appeals to a fluted crater by Euphronius in Arezzo (inv. 1465), which shows Heracles and Telamon fighting against the Amazons. Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 110–111, shows how very fragile are arguments of those who believe they have found representations of Antenor's group.

23. See, for example, Haspels (1936) 167 and p. 264, no. 39; and Brunnsåker (1971) [1955], who dates the lecythus to around 470/460 (drawing on p. 103, fig. 15, and reproduction pl. 23 no. 5), and Schmidt (2009) 227. This lecythus is part of the black-figure Attic vases that continued to be produced along with red-figure ceramics during the first half of the fifth century (mostly bowls and small lecythoi).

24. This statue (MAcr. 681) was recovered in February 1886, along with thirteen other *korai*, in a trench to the north-west of the Erechtheion that had been dug following the Persian sack of September 480. On this subject, see Raubitschek (1949) 232–233, no. 197, who dates it to between 525–510 B.C., and Keesling (2003) 59, who suggests the same dating but recognises how very controversial it is. The fact that Antenor was clearly involved in the reconstruction of the Temple of Apollo in Delphi makes no difference, since that building operation did not get going until 514–513 and was completed around 506–505. Cf. Herodotus, 5.62–63, and Ps.-Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 19.3–4; and on the dating of these works, see La Coste-Messelière (1946).

25. Lévêque and Vidal-Naquet (1996) [1964] 57.

26. The same could be said of the relations between Phidias and Pericles, whose closeness is stressed in late anecdotes—and, in particular, in Plutarch. See, for example, Azoulay (2014) [2010] 142–143.

27. On the relations between Simonides and Hipparchus, cf. Ps.-Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 18.1. On the epigram about the Tyrannicides, see *infra*, pp. 37–38.

28. See Anderson (2003) 203–204.

29. Rolley (1994) 330: 'The year 510–509 B.C., indicated by Pliny, is not plausible.' *Contra* Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 98 (who nevertheless expresses serious doubts, cf. p. 43), and Taylor (1991) [1981] 13–14, who favours the date given by Pliny.

30. Pausanias, 1.8.5.

31. Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 155: '[The Antenor group] may have been made some years later, but we must allow a sufficient interval between them and their replacements

to account for the fact that Pausanias characterized Antenor's work as obviously "older" (*archaioi*).' See also Ostwald (1969) 131–133.

32. Antenor's statues are described as bronzes by Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, 2.10.ext.1, and by Arrian, *Anabasis*, 3.16.7–8 and 7.19.2. *Contra* Castriota (1998) 214, according to whom there must have been massive stylistic differences.

33. One last argument (just as hypothetical) could be invoked in favour of an early date. If the statues initially had a purifying function aimed at exorcising the murder of Hipparchus, it would be logical for the statues to be set up very rapidly once the tyranny had fallen. See *infra*, pp. 175–178.

34. Podlecki (1966) 135, n. 39. The attempt of von Hees-Landwehr (1985) 27–46 to show that the plaster moulds of Baiae were modelled on the first rather than the second group has not won support. See, for example, Castriota (1998) 213–215.

35. Cf. Herodotus, 6.123.2; Thucydides, 1.20.2 and 6.54–59; Ps.-Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 18.

36. This is one of the strong points of Jacoby (1949) 160–162, and, in particular, p. 339, n.53: 'A "brilliant propaganda" which surrenders the highest glory to a rival clan seems to me to defeat its own ends.' *Contra* Thomas (1989) 260 and 265; McGlew (1993) 150–156 (in particular, 154–155), who argues, with no proof, that Cleisthenes was the inventor of the celebration of the Tyrannicides.

37. Anderson (2003) 206. This attractive hypothesis is based on no precise data, so it fails to be persuasive.

38. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, 6.1.1. See Lavelle (1993) 28 (with bibliography n. 6). Charmus was probably the son-in-law of the tyrant Hippias: cf. Kleidemos, *FGrHist* 323 F 15, and Davies (1971) 451, no. 11793.

39. Herodotus, 6.106–107: 'Hippias in the past night had seen a vision in his sleep, wherein he thought he lay with his own mother; he interpreted this dream to signify that he should return to Athens and recover his power, and so die an old man in his mother-country.' Cf. Thucydides, 6.59.4.

40. Ps.-Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 22.3–4. Cf. Androtion, *FGrHist* 324 F 6, and Siewert (2002) 454. The third person ostracised, in 486, was likewise a member of the Pisistratid family, according to Ps.-Aristotle.

41. See Williams (1980) 106–110.

42. Cf. 6.123.2: 'Therefore it is to me a strange and unbelievable accusation, that they of all men should have held up a shield; for at all times they shunned despots, and it was by their devising that the sons of Pisistratus were deposed from their despotism. Thus in my judgement it was they who freed Athens much more than did Harmodius and Aristogiton; for these did but enrage the rest of Pisistratus' kin by killing Hipparchus, and did nought to end the rule of the rest of them.' All the same, Herodotus does not always defend a favourable view of the Alcmaeonids: see Thomas (1989) 265, and Azoulay (2014) [2010] 16–21.

43. See, for example, Azoulay (2014) [2010] 18.

44. On this question, see already Azoulay (2009) 332–335.

45. Pausanias, 5.21.2–18. We know of five series of *Zanes*, erected between 388 B.C. and A.D. 125, along the terrace of treasuries, the origins of which Pausanias describes in the manner of an aetiological myth. Some of the bases that have come down to us are even signed by the sculptor: one such is a *Zanes* of 388 B.C., bearing the signature of Kleon of Sicyon: *IvOl* 637.

46. See *infra*, pp. 44–45.

47. The presence of an epigram bearing the name of Hipparchus is assured for the group by Critius and Nesiotes (see *infra*, pp. 37–38); it is plausible, but not certain, in the case of the monument sculpted by Antenor. On this, see Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 122. For Wohl (2002) 268–269, the absence of the tyrant is the empty space around which the Athenian democracy is structured.

48. On the verb *stēlizein*, 'to brand with infamy', see Bertrand (1999) 155.

49. The inscription was probably engraved in the 480s, after Marathon—which might provide a basis for the hypothesis of a late dating for the Antenor group. On the dating of the stele, see Lavelle (1984) 17–19; Lavelle (1993) 37, n. 44 (and bibliography p. 69, n. 45); Arnush (1995) 138–140 and 154.

50. On the meaning of this enigmatic transformation, see the remarks of Ober (2006) 220–222.

51. 'They voted against them, for the death penalty and, inscribing their names on a bronze stele, exhibited this on the Acropolis close to the ancient temple': Scholia to Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 273. See Dareste, Haussoullier, and Reinach (1898) 49–50; Dinsmoor (1942) 196, n. 14; and Arnush (1995) 138, n. 25.

52. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 34.19.69–70; Arrian, *Anabasis*, 3.16.7–8 and 7.19.2; Pausanias, 1.8.5; Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, 2.10.ext.1. I do not subscribe to the hypothesis suggested by Moggi (1973), according to which the theft of the Tyrannicides statues and other precious objects is a falsehood suggested in order to justify the 'restitution' of the group in the Hellenistic period, for propagandist purposes. According to Moggi, the statues were not stolen by Xerxes, but destroyed. There is no text to support this argument, which is attractive enough but gratuitous. It has been resuscitated, but no better argued, by Habicht (1989) 8.

53. Herodotus, 5.101 and 105.

54. See Houser (1983) 112–115, who mentions several bronze statues whose heads were sawn off on the Acropolis (MNAth 6590 and 6446). See, however, Hurwit (1989) 62, according to whom those decapitations may have been the work of the Greeks themselves, in order to de-sacralize them before burying them.

55. Cf. *IG* I^3 784 (an inscribed column) and a winged figure (MAcr 690). See Holtzman (2003) 68–69. On the nature of the offering (probably made by his close relatives after the death of Callimachus), see Krumeich (1997) 54.

56. Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 31.1. Cf. Arrian, *Anabasis*, 7.19.2 (statue of Celcean Artemis); Pausanias, 1.16.3 (the bronze Apollo of the Branchidae, in Miletus); Pausanias, 8.46.3 (statue of Artemis Brauronia of Brauron).

57. See Keesling (2003) 49, n. 47.

58. See Ben Tor (2006) 8–9. In the twelfth century B.C., the Elamite king Shutruk-Nahunte had the effigies of Maništusu, king of Akkadia, a prince of Eshnunna and a prince of Babylon all transported to Susa. Moreover, in order to appropriate them, he had his own name engraved on several of those statues: see Strommenger (1964) figs. 148–149.

59. See Rolley (1994) 36 (without argumentation).

60. See Schnapp and Lissarrague (2007) 42: 'A remarkable gesture that underlines the symbolic meaning of the statue: if Xerxes seized it, it was certainly in order to indicate that he intended to deprive the Athenians of their liberty.'

61. Favorinus [Dio Chrysostom], *Corinthian Discourse*, 37.41. This is also no doubt why the Athenians (at a date impossible to specify) forbade naming slaves after the

tyrannicides: Gellius, *Attic Nights*, 10.2.10; Libanius, *Discourses* [Declamationes]*, Apology of Socrates,* 1.71.

62. *Marmor Parium, FGrHist* 239 F 54 (Cf. *IG* XII, 5, 444).

63. Taylor (1991) [1981] 19: 'The rapidity with which the plundered statues were replaced shows their importance.' See also Mattusch (1988) 120; Raaflaub (2003) 63.

64. On negative reciprocity in the Greek world, see Scheid-Tissinier (2005) 395–410.

65. See Gernet (1981) [1968] 105–106. See also Parise (1989–1990) 103–104. See more generally Godelier (1999) [1995] 43–49, 'No sooner given than returned (is there such a thing as an absurd gift?).'

66. These ritual actions never took the form of a heroic cult in the strict sense, as R. Parker shows: Parker (1996) 136. See *infra*, p. 76.

67. Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, 2.10.ext.1, and *infra*, pp. 133–134.

Chapter 3

1. Pausanias, 1.8.5 (Critius); Lucian, *Philopseudes*, 18 (Nesiotes). Pausanias (6.3.5) presents Critius as an Athenian citizen, and presumably the same went for Nesiotes. On these two sculptors, see Mattusch (1988) 127.

2. Raubitschek (1949) nos. 120, 121, and 160.

3. See Mattusch (1988) 120–121; and Ma (2013) 252 (with schema).

4. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 633, and *Assemblywomen*, 681–682; Lucian, *The Parasite*, 48; Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates*, 51. If Arrian situates the effigies in the Ceramicus (*Anabasis*, 3.16.8), that is just another way of referring to the Agora: see Papadopoulos (2003) 294–295.

5. On this question, see Wycherley (1957) nos. 260 and 276; Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 125–135; Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 157; Taylor (1991) [1981] 16–18; Krumeich (1995) 301–302 (and n. 45).

6. The mention of the altar of the *Eudanemoi* unfortunately provides no supplementary information, as the location of that monument has never been discovered.

7. See the guarded conclusions of Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 135: 'A place in the area would fit the evidence quite well.'

8. Meritt (1936) 355–358.

9. Timaeus, *Lexicon Platonicum, s.v. orchestra*, 997b27–30.

10. Thucydides, 1.20.2; 6.57.3. The Leocoreion was probably positioned to the north of the Agora, opposite the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios and the Stoa Basileios, and facing the Stoa Poikilē. A combination of bits of ancient evidence, however, suggests that the group was placed a few dozen metres further south; *contra* Shear (2012a) 31, who suggests that it was positioned much too far further north and, what is more, right on the Panathenaea pathway!

11. See Schnapp and Lissarrague (2007) 43. However, that prohibition was lifted in the Hellenistic period: see *infra*, pp. 124–131.

12. On the statue of Leagrus on the Agora, which was no doubt a private offering from his family, see *infra*, p. 216 n. 19.

13. See *infra*, pp. 96–100.

14. Cf. Demosthenes, *Against Leptines,* 20.112. See Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 94–96; and *infra*, p. 97.

15. Agora I 3872; *CEG* I, 430 (p. 237 f.); *IG* I^3 502. See Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 84–88.

16. *Enchiridion*, 114.15–16 Consbruch.

17. Neer (2010) 81–82 suggests a detailed and rather forced analysis of the epigram. According to him, the fact that the name 'Aristo-Geiton' is cut in half might be a way of conveying the *stasis* that has led to the murder of Hipparchus, which is mentioned in the following line. Then, the immediate mention of Harmodius might be a way of symbolising the reunification of the community, as the very name of the tyrannicide would suggest (*harmo-dios*). It is beguiling interpretation but, to say the least, quite hypothetical. More convincingly, Neer emphasizes that the contents of the epigram qualify the behaviour of the tyrannicides just as much as their statues do: 'the great light' mentioned in the epigram refers to the dazzling bronze of the effigies, gleaming in the sunlight, as much as it does, metaphorically, to the liberation of Athens.

18. See Raaflaub (2003) 64 (with its bibliography), and also *infra*, pp. 48–51. (on the *skolion* of Harmodius).

19. On the link between Cleisthenes and *isonomia*, see Lévêque and Vidal-Naquet (1996) [1964] 20–22; Ostwald (1986) 96–136 ('*Isonomia* and Athens'); Fornara and Samons II (1990) 167–168.

20. This matter has been examined exhaustively by Brunnsåker (1971) [1955], which remains the essential reference.

21. For the first (and most convincing) solution, see Walter (1953); Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 163 and 185–186; for the second, Shefton (1960) 173–179.

22. In particular, the Panathenaic amphora London B 605 (*ABV* 411, 4), upon which the pair of statues appears, as an emblem, on Athena's shield. See *infra*, pp. 77–80.

23. Ridgway (1970) 12.

24. Prost (2006) 26.

25. Mattusch (1988) 86–153.

26. See Fehr (1979) 39 f.

27. On this notion of *pathosformel* (pathos formula) and its application, see most recently, Ginzburg (2017) 5–6.

28. Fehr (1989) [1984] 27–29.

29. See Stewart (1997) 73.

30. According to R. T. Neer's striking expression: Neer (2010) 78. See also Fehr (1989) [1984] 23; Steiner (2001) 219–222, and Monoson (2000a) 47.

31. See Bonfante (1989).

32. See *infra*, pp. 48–49; and already Loraux (1996) 152, n. 3.

33. Fehr (1989) [1984] 18. As Guillaume Biard (*personal communication*) has pointed out to me, it is possible to suggest another interpretation of the group's dynamic power here, one that does not exclude a simultaneous action: Aristogiton may be covering the exposed side of Harmodius in order to ward off a possible counter-attack from Hipparchus' bodyguard.

34. See Richter (1928) 1–8, and Suter (1975). The group exhibited in the archaeological museum of Naples (inv. 6009/6010) consists of two marble statues from the Roman period, in a good enough state but lacking their arms. Their provenance is unknown (although for a long time it was thought that they came from the Hadrian's Villa). These statues belonged to private collections of the Farnese family and were for a long time exhibited in their Roman palaces, first the *Palazzo Madama* (between 1535 and 1586), then the Farnese Palace (up until 1790). Even though the restorers were mistaken as to details when they replaced the

statues' missing arms, their work has nevertheless passed down to posterity: so it is in this form that the group by Critius and Nesiotes has invaded the imagination of artists, writers, and scholars of the twentieth century. The most convincing reconstruction of the statues by Critius and Nesiotes is now to be found in the collection of moulds and copies of the University of Freiburg im Breisgau (*Archäologische Sammlung der Universität Freiburg im Breisgau*).

35. See Carpenter (1997).

36. Detienne (1998)

37. Thucydides 6.53.3: 'For the people, knowing by tradition that the tyranny of Pisistratus and his sons had become galling at the last, and moreover had been put down, not by themselves and Harmodius, but by the Lacedaemonians, were in constant fear and regarded everything with suspicion.' See Loraux (1996) 68.

38. *Knights*, 786–787; *Wasps*, 1224–1225. The fact that the song in honour of the tyrannicides was entitled 'the *skolion* of Harmodius' testifies to the pre-eminence of the image of the ephebe in the Athenian imagination. See *infra*, pp. 48–51.

39. It is true that, in the *Lysistrata*, 633, the old man does mention Aristogiton, but he does so in order to imagine himself standing at his side, most probably in the pose of Harmodius: see *infra*, pp. 58–61.

40. In the fourth century, Demosthenes, in his speech *On the False Embassy*, 19.280, mentions only the descendants of Harmodius; as for the grammarian Pollux, he summarises a famous passage from the *Athenian Constitution,* mentioning only Harmodius: Pollux, *Onomasticon*, 8.91: 'On one hand, the polemarch sacrifices to Artemis Agrotera and to Enyalius, on the other, he organises funerary games to honour those who died in warfare and he also conducts a funerary sacrifice centred on Harmodius [*kai tois peri Harmodion enagizei*].'

41. See Langlotz (1951) 20–26, according to whom Aristogiton occupied a secondary position in the statuary group: all that he did was to protect Harmodius, whose task it was to strike down the tyrant. However, his argument is far from convincing: see Shefton (1960) 176.

42. See *infra*, pp. 111–114.

43. Thucydides, 2.43.1. Cf. Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 851–853. For a precise analysis of this passage, see Monoson (2000b) 64–87 [Chapter 3: 'Citizen as *Erastēs* (Lover): Erotic Imagery and the Idea of Reciprocity in the Periclean Funeral Oration'].

44. See, for example, Robert (1969) 254–262. The role of *eros* in the city was theorised by the Stoic Zeno, *SVF*, I, fr. 263 (= Athenaeus, 13.561C): '[. . .] Zeno of Citium understood Eros to be a god who prepares us for friendship and freedom, as well as for unanimity, but for nothing else. This is why he said in his *Republic* that Eros is a god who helps keep the city safe.' See Schofield (1991) 22–56 [Chapter 2: 'City of Love']. This civic eroticism also figures in Dio of Prusa, as J. Ma has clearly shown: Ma (2001) 116.

45. See *infra*, pp. 58–61.

46. Fehr (1989) [1984] 12 and 16.

47. No doubt we should draw a comparison between the Acropolis, which the Athenians did not reconstruct for several decades, and the Agora, where the statuary group was immediately duplicated and endowed with a wider political significance.

48. Fehr (1989) [1984] 39–40.

49. See already Ajootian (1998) 2–3.

Chapter 4

1. See Lebedev (1996) 267. Studying a fragmentary inscription honouring the tyrannicides, discovered in Chios, Lebedev suggests that it was directly inspired by the epigram inscribed on the tyrannicides' tomb in the Ceramicus, which may have been composed by Ion of Chios between 451 and 423. On the speculative aspect of this hypothesis, see *infra*, p. 228, nn. 108–109.

2. *IG* I^3 131 (*c.* 440–430 B.C.). The restoration of the name of Pericles is no more than a gratuitous proposal made by Wade-Gery (1932–1933) 123–125. See the doubts already expressed by Ostwald (1951) 27–28. The dating of the inscription is also controversial and has been ever since Schöll (1872). For a bibliography on the matter, see Berti (2004) 52, n. 148.

3. Although the decree refers only to the *sitēsis*, the Attic orators also mention the award of two other honours to the tyrannicides' descendants: the *proedria* and the *ateleia* (exemption from taxes). Cf. Isaeus, *On the Estate of Dicaeogenes,* 5.47, and Dinarchus, *Against Demosthenes,* 1.101. See Osborne (1981) 153–170; Gauthier (1985) 92; Schmitt Pantel (1992) 147–155.

4. See Monoson (2000a) 45. In his usual role of agitator, Aristophanes does not hesitate to remind the Athenians of the decisive role played by the Spartans on this occasion (*Lysistrata*, 1149–1156).

5. See Taylor (1991) [1981] 36–70 and 71–76; Ermini (1997); Neer (2002) 168–182; Lissarrague (2004); Oenbrink (2004); Schmidt (2009).

6. See Schnapp and Lissarrague (2007) 42.

7. Dupont (1977).

8. On the tradition of the *skolion*, see Reitzenstein (1893) 3–13; Harvey (1955) 162–163 and 174–175; Lambin (1992) 215–311.

9. Cf. *Acharnians*, 1092–1093: 'Everything else stands ready: couches, tables, pillows, coverlets, garlands, perfume, tasty tidbits; the whores are there; cakes, pastries, sesame crackers, rolls, dancing girls, Harmodius' beloveds, pretty ones!' (transl. J. Henderson, Loeb). However, the Greek text happens to be questionable—so much so that Lambin (1998) 59–64 suggests that, without correcting the manuscript texts, the translation should be: 'dancing girls—beloved of Harmodius!—and some pretty ones!' (p. 62). *Contra* Cornwall (1911) 247.

10. Translation by Olson (2012).

11. From a massive bibliography, see, among others, Ehrenberg (1956) 59 and 69 (who turns it into a veritable national anthem), and Ostwald (1969) 121–136 and 182–185 (notes). *Contra* Lambin (1992) 273–285, who regards it above all as a smutty song.

12. This practice, known to Plutarch (*Table Talk*, 615B), was already attested by Aristophanes (*Storks*, fr. 444 K.-A.). Cf. scholia to Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1222, 1239, and scholia to Plato, *Gorgias,* 451E. See Bowra (1961) 392, n. 1.

13. Bowra (1961) 394 and Thomas (1989) 259.

14. Ostwald (1969) 125.

15. In the sixth century A.D., Hesychius of Alexandria, *Lexicon (Glōssai), s.v. 'Armodiou melos'* (alpha 7317 Latte) attributes the song to a certain Callistratus (otherwise totally unknown), no doubt in a kind of *a posteriori* reconstruction based on a desire to assign this oral and collective composition to a precise author. See Ostwald (1969) 123–124.

16. Ford (1999) 255.

17. *Wasps*, 1208–1209. Loathecleon has to learn not only how to eat and drink whilst lying down, but also how praise a bronze vase (1214), which indicates how, within the framework of a *symposion*, vases could spark stories.

18. On this passage, see in particular, Storey (1995).

19. Cf. Isaeus, *On the Estate of Dicaeogenes,* 5.41–42 and 47. See on this matter Davies (1971) 318–320; Bourriot (1982) 404–435: Cleon, the son of Cleainetus of Kydathenaion, seems to have married the daughter of Dikaiogenes of Kydathenaion; and a certain Harmodius, no doubt the grandson of the tyrannicide, seems to have married another daughter of the same Dikaiogenes. So Cleon and Harmodius would have been brothers-in-law.

20. See Whitehead (2000) 36 (and commentary, pp. 51–52).

21. *Banqueters*, fr. 225 K.-A. Cf. Plutarch, *Table Talk*, 615A. See also Lambin (1992) 199.

22. Inscribed on vases painted with banqueting scenes, one sometimes finds lines taken from *skolia*. Such is the case on a pyxis by the Amasis Painter (Temple of Aphaia, Aegina), Munich 8935 (= *ARV*^{2} 1619, 14.3b, *Paralipomena* 322), on a red-figure bowl by the Brygus Painter, Cab. Med. 546 (*ARV*^{2} 372, 26), and on fragments of a crater by Euphronius in a private collection (*ARV*^{2} 1619, 3b). See Lissarrague (1990) [1987] 128–129, fig. 99, and Lowenstam (1997) 47.

23. Paris, Musée du Louvre, G 341. See Denoyelle (1997) 13.

24. *Museo Archeologico Regionale*, Agrigento, no. 8952 (*c*. 475–450 B.C.). Total height: 78 cm. This vase was formerly to be found in the Palermo Museum. See von Bothmer (1957) 161 and pl. 74, 3, and Buschor (1969) 192, fig. 204 (overall view).

25. We know of other representations of Lapiths as Aristogiton. Cf. e.g. Athens, Agora P 12641, a fragment of a louterion from the Agora, of the Polygnotus school (*c*. 440/430 B.C.), *ARV*^{2} 1043, I (*supra*), *Paralipomena* 444, *Add*^{2} 374, and Shefton (1962) pl. 105–106. However, the parallel cannot be certain, given the absence of some other figure represented as Harmodius.

26. Naples, *Museo nazionale archeologico,* 2421 = *ARV*^{2} 600, 13 (reproduction in Stewart (1997) 74).

27. See Shefton (1960) fig. 2, and Hurwit (2007) 40, n. 28.

28. See Vernant (1990) 96–104. It would be possible to make a similar type of analysis of several drinking bowls that show Dionysus in a Tyrannicide pose and, in particular, a stamnos attributed to the Tyszkiewicz Painter (*c*. 480–450 B.C.): London, *British Museum* E 443 = *ARV*^{2} 229, 29. See Beazley (1916) 148, and the analysis proposed by Ermini (1997) 2–3. *Contra* Carpenter (1997) 174–175. This kind of iconographic game reappears, with a few differences, on a stamnos of the Blenheim Painter, dating from the mid–fifth century B.C.: Boston, *Museum of Fine Arts*, 00.342. On this vase, see Prange (1989) pl. 13, B5, and p. 179 for the bibliography.

29. Such is the case of an amphora of the Praxias group found in Vulci, in Etruria, and strongly influenced by Attic models: Florence, *Museo Archeologico,* 3928 = *ARV*^{2} 770, 4. This vase is attributed to the Jahn Painter and dated to 470–460 B.C. It displays the murder of Aegisthus—an episode that presents an echo of the murder of Hipparchus. We should probably dismiss any deliberate reference to the statuary group and explain the gestures of Orestes (*qua* Aristogiton) and Clytemnestra (whose gesture rather vaguely suggests that of Harmodios) by their own logic (that of a sudden attack and a desperate defence): in that case, the painter drew upon a repertory of conventional poses.

30. Florence, *Museo Archeologico,* 3928 = *ARV*^{2}770, 4.

31. Ermini (1997) 13, n. 28.

32. Lavelle (1988).

33. This great origins narrative appeared in its definitive form between 450 and 430, precisely when Herodotus was composing his *Histories*. See Blok (2009) (*contra* Loraux [1993] [1981]). Herodotus, who was a native of Halicarnassus, did not consider his eastern ancestry to be a defect, for he drew attention to the numerous benefits introduced by the Phoenicians and, in particular, the alphabet, the 'Phoenician letters' (*phoinikeia grammata*: 5.58). No doubt he enjoyed the fact that this remark had the effect of relativizing the autochthonous pretensions of the Athenians. Plutarch (*On the Malice of Herodotus*, 860D) criticised the historian on this point, in particular reproaching him for having presented Harmodius and Aristogiton as 'Phoenicians'.

34. Cf. 5.62 and *supra*, p. 37.

35. See Murray (1990), and McGlew (1999) 5.

Chapter 5

1. Kearns (1989) 55.

2. On questions of dating, see Sommerstein (1977) 112–126.

3. *Lysistrata*, 630–635.

4. See Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 34; Taylor (1991) [1981] 59; Lambin (1979) 543 and 550. *Contra* Fehr (1989) [1984] 30, and Henderson (2000) *ad loc.*, according to whom the chorus-leader was imitating Aristogiton. He notes that the chorus-leader acts 'as a worthy heir to Aristogiton (*hexēs Aristogeitoni*)'. However, the term *hexēs* may have a spatial rather than a temporal meaning; and that is exactly what is confirmed in the following line, in which the chorus leader explicitly imagines himself as 'next to' Aristogiton (*par' auton*); that is to say, in the place of Harmodius.

5. Lambin (1979) 550.

6. *Lysistrata*, 272–277: 'Not even Cleomenes, the first to occupy this place, left here intact. No, for all he breathed the Spartan spirit, he left without his weapons, surrendering to me!' Cf. *Lysistrata*, 281–282.

7. The play constantly draws attention to the debility of the old men, particularly the chorus-leader, who seems to be physically dominated by the women that he confronts: when sprinkled with water by one of them, he even complains of having wet clothes, 'as if we'd peed in them' (l. 402) like an incontinent old man.

8. See *supra*, pp. 48–49.

9. Cf. Hesychius of Alexandria, *Lexicon (Glōssai), s.v.* <*skiphos*> (sigma 1036 Latte) *xiphos; s.v.* <*murtos*> (mu 1926 Latte). See Henderson (1975) 122, #58 and 134–135, #125, and Lambin (1979) 547–548.

10. See Lambin (1979) 550. One of the features of the *skolion* is that it allows for such ambiguous word-games. See Liapis (1996) 111–122.

11. See Flaig (2004) 53–56.

12. See Taylor (1991) [1981] 91, and Wohl (2002) 152–156, who underlines the strategic positioning of the digression on the tyrannicides (6.53.3–58.2) in Thucydides' work, which comes just before his account of the disastrous expedition to Sicily. Aristophanes had already mocked the veneration surrounding the tyrannicides, in his *Birds*, in 414, where

he slips into the *politeia* of Cloud-cuckoo-land the following ridiculous measure: 'whoever kills any of the long deceased tyrants shall get a talent' (v. 1074–1075). See McGlew (1993) 186.

13. According to certain scholars, Aristophanes was not the first to ridicule the tyrannicides in 411. In the *Demes* by Eupolis, performed in about the same year as *Lysistrata*, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton were maybe placed in a steam-bath in order to bring them back to life: at the end of this process of resurrection, Harmodius suddenly rose up, in the pose of his statue. See Edmonds (1957) 994 (and fr. 110B). However, this reconstruction of the play has been the object of much criticism, as M. W. Taylor points out: Taylor (1991) [1981] 95, n. 17.

14. Vetta (1983) 125, n. 33.

15. On the complex chronological development of the revolution of the Four Hundred, see Shear (2011) 22–41.

16. Phrynichus was even removed by Pisander and relieved of his command, having opposed Alcibiades' offer of his services (Thucydides, 8.54.3).

17. In the *Politics* (5.6.1305b27), Aristotle mentions Phrynichus only as a prototype of a demagogic oligarch.

18. On this distinction, which is fundamental for an understanding of how the 'Athenian intellectual field' worked in the fourth century, see Azoulay (2007) 176–186.

19. Heftner (2005) 104–106, who tends to represent Phrynichus as the great 'Symbolfigur' of the 411 regime.

20. See Shear (2011) 28–29 and 39.

21. See Robert (1955) 284. However, it is quite possible that the murderer may have been an armed metic, engaged in the frontier forts or serving in the city guard. See Bertolle (2002), and Eck (2012) 364 (and n. 163).

22. Thucydides, 6.57.2: 'Aristogiton, indeed, escaped the guards for the moment, as the crowd ran together, but afterwards was caught and handled in no gentle manner.' When tortured, Aristogiton appears not to have remained silent, but named false accomplices. Cf. Ps.-Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 18.4: 'According to the account of people of popular sympathies, Aristogiton accused the tyrant's friends for the purpose of making his captors commit an impiety and weaken themselves at the same time by making away with men who were innocent and their own friends, but others say that his accusations were not fictitious but that he disclosed his actual accomplices.'

23. Scholia to Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 313: 'Didymus and Craterus say that this is an allusion to Phrynichus, the son of Stratonides. He behaved badly toward the people when he was a *stratēgos* in Samos. So the people voted against him, Phrynichus, for his possessions to be confiscated, with a tenth for the goddess, and his house to be destroyed, and had many other reproaches inscribed against him on a stele of bronze.' See Chantry (2001/2002) 242–243.

24. Ps.-Plutarch, *Lives of the Ten Orators* [Antiphon], 834B: the terms of the condemnation of Antiphon should 'be inscribed on a bronze tablet, which shall be set up where the decrees relating to Phrynichus are placed [*ta psēphismata ta peri Phrunikhou*]'.

25. Thucydides, 6.55.1, and *supra*, pp. 30–31. See also Bertrand (1999) 159, and Shear (2011) 57–58.

26. As Eck (2012) 367 has emphasised, the infamy that struck down Phrynichus and the honours awarded to his assassins operate as mirror-images: 'The *post-mortem* trial of

Phrynichus made it possible to justify his assassins and the severity of the verdict was a way of justifying their action.'

27. Lysias, *Against Agoratus,* 13.71, attributed the plot to two metics, Thrasybulus of Calydon and Apollodorus of Megara. Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates,* 112, suggests a different version: although he gives the same names as Lysias does (Apollodorus and Thrasybulus, with no further details), he declares that they acted by night and were then released after an intervention made by the people—which, chronologically, is most unlikely.

28. *IG* I^3 102 = *Syll.*^{3} 108 = M&L, no. 85.

29. *On the Mysteries*, 1.96–98, translated by Gagarin and MacDowell (1998) *ad loc.*

30. Shear (2007b) 156–158, and Shear (2011) 136–137 and 147–149.

31. *Athenian Constitution*, 7.1 and 55.5. *Contra* Wilson (2009) 24–26, according to whom the oath was sworn in the theatre of Dionysus, just before performances of tragedies. The formula *pro Dionusiōn* referred, not to time in general, but more specifically to the moment just before the start of the tragedies' performances. Proof of this might be provided by two lines from Aristophanes (*Birds*, 1074–1075), which suggest that in 414 the custom was, just before the start of the plays, to announce the rewards promised to those who killed a tyrant. However, that would be to suggest that Aristophanes' play reflected certain real institutional practices—and there are no grounds for suggesting this.

32. See Loraux (2002) 142, and Shear (2011) 110 and 139.

33. That may be deduced from the parody of a curse pronounced by the herald in the *Women at the Thesmophoria*, 338–339: 'If anyone conspires in any way to harm the Women's Commonwealth or negotiates secretly with Euripides and the Medes in any way to the women's harm; or contemplates either becoming a tyrant or abetting a tyrant's installation [*ē turannein epinoei, ē ton turannon sugkatagein*] [. . .].'

34. The heliasts' oath may have contained this clause, almost right at the beginning. See Eck (2012) 363.

35. *Women at the Thesmophoria*, 338–339. As Sommerstein (1994) *ad loc.* points out, the curse pronounced had remained unchanged since the 480s. Cursing whoever tried to 'bring back the tyrant' made sense only when the tyrant Hippias was still alive.

36. Andocides, *On the Mysteries,* 1.95: 'but what does the law say, the one inscribed on stone in front of the Council-house?' Cf. Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates*, 125–126. See Shear (2007b) 152, and Shear (2011) 101–103 and 110.

37. *IG* I^3 27 and 71: a copy of the texts placed first on the Acropolis and in front of the Bouleuterion. See Shear (2007b) 160, and Liddel (2003) 81 and 88–89.

38. Shear (2007b) 159.

39. See already Petre (1997) 1218–1220.

40. See Pippin Burnett (1998) 247–272.

41. On the readoption of the lexicon of the *hetaireia* in *Orestes*, 804–806, 1072 and 1079.

42. Alaux (1995) 204. See also McGlew (1999) 5, and Pelling (2000) 185.

43. See Loraux (1997).

44. The rejection of vendettas is reaffirmed by Tyndareus a few lines further on: 'Where's the limit to calamity? Our ancestors of old ordered this matter well: though they forbade anyone with blood on his hands to come into their sight or meet them, it was by exile, not retaliatory killing, that they said purity was to be restored' (*Orestes*, 507–515).

45. In the same passage, Thucydides points out that the Athenians made the link between this impious action and a desire to overthrow democracy: 'The matter was taken

very seriously; for it seemed to be ominous for the expedition and to have been done in furtherance of a conspiracy with a view to a revolution and the overthrow of the democracy.'

46. A comparison has already been attempted by Ober (2003) 227–228. It had already been noted, more than a century earlier, by Benndorf (1867) 320–321.

47. On the dating of the statue of Philites, see *infra*, p. 136 and p. 227, n. 95.

48. *I. Erythrai* 503 (mid–third century?), translation and commentary by Heisserer (1979). The translation has been modified to take into account the remarks made by Gauthier (1982), which are not taken into consideration by Teegarden (2014) 142–172.

49. On the 'hortative clause', see Gauthier (1985) 12, and Ma (2013) 56–57. The stereotyped expression could be translated as follows: 'in order therefore that the city be seen to requite gratitude'.

50. See Bosworth (1980) 131–133. On this episode, see Malkin (1987) 232; Leschhorn (1984) 175–180; and Lewis (2004) 72.

51. Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates*, 51. See Gauthier (1982) 220: 'As soon as he is deprived of his sword, [Philites] resembles an athlete, represented in a fighting attitude, but without a weapon. The replica of the monument of Harmodius and Aristogiton, found in Tivoli and preserved in the Naples Museum, which is likewise mutilated, was for a long time believed to represent two athletes or gladiators'.

52. See, for example, Prioux (2007) 184–186, and Azoulay (2016) 179–188.

Chapter 6

1. Cf. e.g. Lysias, *Against Eratosthenes,* 12.5 and 16–20.

2. The label 'The Thirty Tyrants' was forged in the course of the fourth century B.C. Lysias was already using it (*Against Eratosthenes* ,12.35). It then appears in Xenophon, attributed to Critias (*Hellenica*, 2.3.16): ' "But if," he said, "merely because we are thirty and not one, you imagine that it is any the less necessary for us to keep a close watch over this government, just as one would were it a tyranny, you are foolish".' See Mitchell (2006).

3. Hermogenes, *On Issues [Peri tōn staseōn]*, 33.19–34.2 Heath (= 1.22 Patillon), transl. Heath (1995) *ad loc.* See also Wycherley (1957) no. 265.

4. The story was perhaps prompted by the case of Theramenes, who took refuge (in vain) at the altar of the Bouleuterion, when Critias ordered his arrest: *Hellenica*, 2.3.52–56.

5. Cf. Herodotus, 5.71.5; Thucydides, 1.126.10–11; Plutarch, *Solon*, 12.1. See *supra*, pp. 18–19.

6. On supplication close to *agalmata*, see Linant de Bellefonds (2004) 461–463. For a parallel in the same period, cf. e.g. Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 4.4.3.

7. See *supra*, pp. 49–51.

8. That is what is suggested by the mention, in the fragments of the play that have come down to us (fr. 454–455 K.-A.) by the poet Patrocles and the politician Neocleides, both of whom are also mentioned in the *Plutus* (388 B.C.). See Webster (1952) 13; Storey (1990) 13; Henderson (2007) 323.

9. The play may have concerned the strained relations between a son and a father (cf. fr. 445 K.-A.). We should remember that, in *Birds*, 1354–1358, a law obliges young storks to feed their father, in a transparent parody of Athenian *gērotrophia*.

10. Aristophanes, *Storks*, fr. 444 K.-A. (= Scholia to Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1238a).

11. See *supra*, pp. 48–49.

12. On the Homeric *skēptron*, see Carlier (1984) 191 and n. 255. On the orator's myrtle crown, cf. e.g. Aristophanes, *Assemblywomen*, 130, 147, 163, 171.

13. This is the opinion of Lambin (1992) 262–263.

14. The connection between oligarchic revolutions and the *symposion* is well attested among the Attic orators, in the fourth century: cf. Ps.-Demosthenes, *Against Stephanos,* II 46.26; Hyperides, *In Defence of Euxenippus,* 4.7–8.

15. Aristophanes cited the first line in *Wasps*, 1238–1239, in 422 B.C. On the *skolion* of Admetus, see Scodel (1979), and Lambin (1992) 260–261.

16. See, for example, Azoulay (2010) 23–25 (with bibliography).

17. That is the opinion of Bowra (1961) 377–379.

18. In Euripides' *Alcestis*, Admetus takes in Apollo, whom Zeus had condemned to spend a year as a servant in the home of a mortal. To thank his host, the god offers him the gift of eternal life. But this gift is a poisoned one since, every time the moment of his death approaches, Admetus has to find a replacement to die in his place, in order to send to Hades a soul that is due to him. Admetus, who wants to live on longer, approaches his father and mother, asking them to die in his place, but they refuse. On the other hand, his wife, Alcestis, does agree to sacrifice herself for him. On Pheres' kingship as tyranny, cf. *Alcestis*, 654.

19. Cf. Thucydides, 5.63.3 and Ps.-Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 19.5 (links with the Thessalian dynasts). Cf. *Lysistrata*, 1152–1153; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 2.3.36, and *Memorabilia*, 1.2.24 (Critias' stay in Thessaly).

20. See *infra* pp. 75–76.

21. See *supra,* pp. 61–63.

22. *Against Ctesiphon,* 3.187: 'Again, in the Mētrōon you may see the reward (*dōrean*) that you gave to the band from Phyle, who brought the people back from exile. For Archinus of Coele, one of the men who brought back the people, was the author of the resolution.'

23. The *thesmoi* go back to the time of the law-giver, Draco, according to Andocides, *On the Mysteries,* 1.83. On the verb *gerairein* and its Homeric echoes, see Carlier (1984) 157 and 255.

24. *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, 7.4.31 (transl. C. P. Jones, Loeb, 2005). The text does not imply that the Phyle heroes were celebrated in songs sung at the Panathenaea (given that '*kai to apo Phulēs ergon*' is co-ordinated with '*kai ta Panathēnaia ta Attika*' and is thus a direct object complement of the main verb). Nevertheless, Philostratus does establish a significant connection between the two liberating actions, and he does so in a ritual context.

25. According to one ancient scholium, Harmodius' descendant was the *stratēgos* Proxenus (cf. *On the False Embassy* 19.50 and 155).

26. Modified translation based on MacDowell (2000) *ad loc.*

27. This passage is seldom commented on in detail, for it is hard to interpret. See Parker (1996) 136, n. 55, who writes, with his customary honesty, 'Dem. 19.280 (libations: I am unclear what is meant exactly)'. It is worth noting that the city not only organises wine offerings for the tyrannicides but also establishes a gift of regular meals, the *sitēsis*, for their living descendants. See *supra*, p. 47 and *infra*, p. 99.

28. See Parker (1996) 136. In the first century B.C., Cicero was still referring to the songs sung in honour of the tyrannicides within a ritual framework. Cf. *For Milo*, 80: 'Greeks give the honours of the gods to those men who have slain tyrants. What have I not seen at Athens? What in the other cities of Greece? What divine honours have I not seen paid

to such men? What odes, what songs (*carmina*) have I not heard in their praise? They are almost consecrated to immortality in the memories and worship of men.'

29. See *supra*, pp. 48–51.

30. See Deubner (1966) [1909] 29, and Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 150.

31. That is the conclusion also reached by Shear (2012b) 1–3, in an article published after the completion of the original French version of this work. The author stresses the relationship between the tyrannicides, the gigantomachy, and the Panathenaea: the festival was believed to celebrate the gods' victory over the Giants, as is attested by the *peplos* offered to the goddess during the festival, on which was embroidered a representation of that famous battle. The argument is attractive but fragile, since it is based on evidence provided by banqueting bowls with no truly ritual dimension, on which the gods are depicted in the poses of one of the Tyrannicides (but never of both at the same time).

32. See in particular Lissarrague (2004) 107–108, and Ober (2003) 246.

33. London, British Museum, B 605 (= *ABV* 411, 4, *Add*^{2} 107), attributed to the Kuban group and found at Tocra/Taucheira in Cyrenaica; Hildesheim, Pelizaeus Museum, 1253 (= *ABV* 412, 2) and 1254 (= *Paralipomena* 177 and *ABV* 412, 1), both found in Ptolemais in Cyrenaica and attributed to the Hildesheim group and, more precisely, to the painter Aristophanes. See Peters (1942); Beazley (1943) 454–455; Bentz (1998) 158, pls. 95–97.

34. Ps.-Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 60.2–3. See on this matter Detienne (1973).

35. Valavanis (1987), and Tiverios (1996) 167.

36. Lissarrague (2004) 107.

37. Only the Cyzicus staters are an exception to this rule, as is, to a lesser degree, the lecythus of the Emporion Painter. See *infra*, pp. 187–189.

38. See Schnapp and Lissarrague (2007) 43, who emphasise the extent to which 'the movement of the statue on the shield forms a visual echo of the movement of the goddess'.

39. This is agreed generally. See, among others, Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 123; Bentz (1998) 50–51; Lissarrague (2004) 107–108.

40. See Cromey (2001) 91–100, according to whom the festival must have been scaled down because of the sorry state of the city's finances.

41. That is N. Loraux's (exaggerated) criticism of 'iconographic anthropologists' in her article 'To Repoliticize the City' (2002) 45–47 (which was originally published in 1986).

42. See Jongkees (1947) 159–160; Ostwald (1969) 184–185; Ajootian (1998) 9.

43. That is the hypothesis of Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 150). The practice was quite common: cf. e.g. *ICos* [Segre] ED 149 [*IG* XII, 4, 1, no. 348], ll. 21–23 and ll. 124–125 (foundation of Diomedon in Cos, *c*. 300 B.C.); *IG* XII, 3, 249, ll. 24–27 (the honorific decree for Archonidas at Anaphe, 2nd century B.C.), and *infra*, pp. 67–69.

44. Ostwald (1969) 183.

45. Red-figure *chous* (*c.* 400 B.C), Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, H. L. Pierce Fund 98.936. The archaeological context of this find is complex and controversial: see Vermeule (1970), and *infra*, pp. 106–108.

46. On the presumed dating, see Robertson (1975) 420–421.

47. Rome, *Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia*, inv. 44255. See Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 106, pl. 24.8.

48. Ferrara, *Museo Nazionale di Spina,* no. 6406 (*c*. 400–390 B.C.), found in tomb 268A (Valle Pega) of the Spina necropolis. See Massei (1978) 284 no. 2 and pl. 69.4; Oenbrink (2004) 99, fig. 8; Schmidt (2009) 333.

49. On the Anthesteria, see Deubner (1966) 93–123; Hamilton (1992) 12–13.

50. Lang and Crosby (1964) 44.

51. Hamilton (1992) 121.

52. See Schmidt (2009) 231. On the *choes*, painters represented activities that filled the entire city with an enthusiasm similar to that aroused by the festival itself (procession, competition, races, etc.).

53. See *supra*, pp. 63–65. We should also remember that the oath of Demophantus—which explicitly invoked the image of the tyrannicides—was sworn just before the Great Dionysia of 409.

54. Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 106–107.

55. Schmidt (2009) 334.

56. Demosthenes, *On the False Embassy,* 19.280.

57. Cf. e.g. Hesychius of Alexandria, *Lexicon (Glōssai), s.v. tritos kratēr* (tau 1450 Latte): 'In gatherings, three craters were mixed; the first was called that of Olympian Zeus and the Olympian gods, the second that of the heroes, the third that of Zeus the Saviour.' See Nilsson (1951) 428–422, and Lissarrague (1990) [1987] 26.

58. See, for example, Podlecki (1966) 129–134; Hölscher (1973) 85–86; Taylor (1991) [1981] 6; Gafforini (1990) 37–45; Lebedev (1996) 266–267; Krumeich (2002) 240; Raaflaub (2003) 65; Anderson (2003) 202–203.

59. Pausanias, 1.29.15. See Prag (1985) 103. An epigram discovered in Chios (*SEG* XVI, 497 and *SEG* XVII, 392), dating from the third or second century B.C., may refer to the *sēma* of the tyrannicides in Athens, but the expression is unfortunately restored. In any case, the inscription refers to no heroic cult, nor does it mention any ritual connected with the tomb, so it cannot be claimed as proof. On this controversial epigram, see *infra*, pp. 137–138.

60. On this translation, see Currie (2005) 95.

61. Cf. e.g. Herodotus, 5.47; Pausanias, 4.32.3.

62. See Parker (1996) 136, n. 55. See also Ekroth (1999) 147 and n. 13.

63. See *infra*, pp. 121–122.

64. Taylor (1991) [1981] 7, even suggests that the 'cult' of the tyrannicides took place on the same day as the annual funeral oration for those who had died for their country. See also Podlecki (1966) 129–134.

65. Parker (1996) 136, n. 55; Shear (2012b) 31.

66. The suggestion had already been made by Walter (1953) 140–141 ('[. . .] wir haben Standbilder heroisierter Toter vor uns, denen wie Götterbildern göttliche Ehren erwiesen wurden' [We have before us statues of dead heroes that received divine honours as did images of gods and goddesses]), but he does not prove this assertion. See also the nuanced opinion of Krumeich (2007) 162–163 and n. 26.

67. Shapiro (1994) 124.

68. See Ajootian (1998) 9, and Neer (2010) 81–82, according to whom the contents of the inscription describe the behaviour of the tyrannicides just as much as that of their statues; 'the great light' mentioned in the epigram also refers to the shining bronze of the effigies, gleaming in the sun.

69. Aelian, *Historical Miscellany*, 112.28; Scholia to Thucydides 1.20; Theodoretus, *Therapeutika*, V.iii.115.10. On the sanctuary, the religious centre of the Leontis tribe, see in particular Kron (1999) 81: '[. . .] the *phyle* Leontis chose the sanctuary of the alleged daughters of their tribal hero as the cult center of the tribe and apparently used these

female heroes as, so to speak, role-models of patriotic behaviour for the men of the tribe.' See also Parker (1996) 252.

70. On this subject, see Azoulay (2016).

71. Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates*, 88: the Eponymous Heroes, beneficiaries of *isotheoi timai;* Scholia to Demosthenes, *Against Timocrates*, 24.8=24, 23 Dilts.

72. Taylor (1991) [1981] 6.

73. See *infra*, p. 241 n. 19.

74. Gafforini (1990).

75. On the dating of the *Athenian Constitution*, see, for example, Keaney (1992) 9–14.

76. Calabi Limentani (1976) 9–27 concludes that the cult was reactivated as early as 410, basing this upon the decree of Demophantus, as does Shear (2012a) 51. Lambin (1992) 284, for his part, prefers to date this religious renewal to sometime after 403.

77. According to Philochorus (*FGrHist* 328 F 181 = Harpocration, *s.v. pompeias kai pompeuein*), the ritual material used during the Panathenaea was composed from the goods and riches confiscated from the Thirty. On this fragment, see Fornara and Yates (2007) 31–37.

78. Hermogenes, *On Issues [peri tōn staseōn]*, 33.19–34.2 Heath = 1.22 Patillon. See *supra,* pp. 71–72.

79. See Schmitt Pantel (1992) 228–231.

80. This passage is the earliest known attestation of a *klērōtērion*: see Boegehold (1984) 24, n. 11, and Dow (1939) 10.

81. On the democratic significance of the drawing of lots, as opposed to the more oligarchic character of election, Plato, *Republic*, 8.557a; Aristotle, *Politics*, 4.9.1294b8: 'I mean, for example, that it is thought to be democratic for the offices to be assigned by lot, for them to be elected oligarchic [. . .]'. Cf. *Politics*, 6.2.1317b17–21.

82. Demont (2003) 46. See already Schmitt Pantel (1992) 229. Cf. *Assemblywomen*, 687–690: '—But people who draw no letter for dinner, will everyone push them away from the table?'—That won't happen with us; we'll provide everything for everyone unstintingly.'

83. According to Philochorus (*FGrHist* 328 F 140), the *bouleutai* (councillors) began to be selected in this way only in around 411/410. On the organisation of the procedure for designating jurors, see Boegehold (1984) 24.

84. Schmitt Pantel (1992) 230.

85. Perhaps spectators could also detect in this reference an allusion to the *sitēsis* granted to the descendants of the tyrannicides, the privilege that, in Aristophanes' play, is extended to the entire civic body.

86. For Thucydides' opinion on this episode, see *supra*, pp. 16–17, and Wohl (2002) 152–156. On the variety of reactions prompted by the tyrannicides, see Taylor (1991) [1981] 175–187 (who, however, does not take account of the evolution of the context between 425 and the beginning of the fourth century).

87. Ps.-Plato, *Hipparchus*, 228B-229E. On the date and the inauthenticity of the dialogue, see the discussion by Souilhé (1981) 51–58.

88. This inability of Athenian democracy to place limits upon itself is one of the major themes of the work by Thucydides, as is noted by Castoriadis (2008) 203–205 and Castoriadis (2011) 278–282.

89. See *supra*, pp. 60–61, and Wohl (2002) 152–156.

90. See Ober (1998).

Chapter 7

1. See, for example, Ostwald (1986) xi, and the critical remarks of Ober (1989) 95–103, and especially p. 96 for the summary of the historiographical debate.

2. Gauthier (1990a) 83–84, and Gauthier (1990b) 439–441.

3. See in particular Ruschenbusch (1958); Finley (1975) 35–40.

4. See Mossé (1978) 81–89, who places the beginning of the movement after the failure of the Sicilian expedition.

5. See Witte (1995). On the relationship of the orator Lycurgus to the past, at the very moment when Athens was going through a major political, institutional, and cultural upheaval, see Azoulay (2009b).

6. On the career of Conon at this time, see Beloch (1884) 118–119; Barbieri (1955) 130–150; Sealey (1956) 182–183; March (1997); Fornis (2008).

7. Cf. Apsines, *Art of Rhetoric*, 3.5: 'After the rebuilding of the walls, someone introduces a motion that Conon should receive the same honours as Harmodios and Aristogiton' (transl. Dilts and Kennedy [1997] 127).

8. In this context, the role played by the Spartans in the expulsion of Hippias—and, consequently, in the ending of the tyranny in Athens—had to continue to be totally hidden.

9. The honorific decree for Conon seems to have been engraved on a stele set apart (this is what *Against Leptines* 20.69 suggests). No doubt the base of the statue also carried an honorific inscription, summarising the decree, in conformity with a well-known custom of the Hellenistic period. See Gauthier (1985) 96.

10. Cf. Isocrates, *Evagoras,* 9.56: following the action of Conon and Evagoras, 'the Greeks regained their freedom [*hoi d'Hellēnes ēleutherōthēsan*]'; Dinarchus, *Against Demosthenes,* 1.14, speaks of Conon who 'freed the Greeks [*tous Hellēnas eleutherōsantos*]'.

11. Isocrates, *Evagoras,* 9.57; Pausanias, 1.3.2.

12. See Oliver (2007) 197; Shear (2011) 277–278.

13. *IG* I^3 113. Cf. Demosthenes, *Philip's Letter,* 12.10; Isocrates, *Evagoras,* 9.54. On the contents of the extremely fragmentary inscription and its dating, see Costa (1974) 45–46 (410 B.C.); Osborne (1981–1982) 31–33 (vol. I) and 21–24 (vol. II) (407 B.C.).

14. *SEG* XXIX, 86, l, 16–17; Lewis and Stroud (1979) 189–190; Rhodes and Osborne (2007) no. 11, ll. 12–13 and l. 17.

15. See Meyer (1902) 199.

16. Cf. Isocrates, *Evagoras,* 9.56 and 68. This 'whitewashing' operation served just as well for Conon himself, for there was nothing particularly Athenian about him after twelve years in exile, in Cyprus, where his wife and children were: cf. Lysias, *On the Property of Aristophanes,* 19.36, and Gauthier (1985) 96.

17. Gauthier (1985) 97. The presence of the statue of Zeus Eleutherios somewhat upset this fine symmetry, however: men and gods intermingled here, as they did in certain groups in the sanctuary of Delphi (such as the monument to Lysander).

18. See Shear (2011) 279.

19. If a certain Leagrus had indeed been granted a statue backing onto the outer enclosure surrounding the altar of the Twelve Gods (*IG* I^3 951), this must have been an offering, probably of a family origin, as were so many others on the Acropolis, not an honour granted by the community. See Gadbery (1992) 472–474, and, on the statue of Leagrus, Seaman (2002), and Shear (2011) 275.

20. On these famous paintings, see Hölscher (1973) 50–84; Krumeich (1997) 55 and 102–109; Duplouy (2006) 67–68.

21. Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon,* 3.186, is mistaken when he attributes to Miltiades the formal request (*aitēsis)* for such an honour. Miltiades in fact died soon after Marathon, many years before the construction of the Stoa Poikilē. See Gauthier (1985) 123.

22. This last hypothesis is suggested by Krumeich (1996), on the basis of a tightly argued analysis of the formula.

23. See Prost (1999) 251–252, who regards the representation of Miltiades as a response, in pictorial form, to the statuary group of Critius and Nesiotes.

24. According to Aeschines, Cimon himself requested (*ētēsen)* to be honoured. This directly echoes the *aitēsis* procedure (involving a request for honours) that already existed when the orator composed his speech. On that procedure, see Gauthier (1985) 83–88.

25. Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon,* 3.183. Cf. Demosthenes, *Against Leptines,* 20.112. See Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 94–96, and *supra*, pp. 36–37.

26. On the epigrams inscribed on Cimon's Herms, see Jacoby (1945) 181f.; Harrison (1965) 110–111; Osborne (1985); and Crawley Quinn (2007) 84–85. According to Pseudo-Plato's *Hipparchus* (228C-229B), the Herms were commissioned by the son of the tyrant Pisistratus: erected along the roads leading from the town to the demes, they bore on two surfaces inscriptions that presented to the gaze of passers-by not only maxims of wisdom, but also the name of Hipparchus. The Herms thus appear originally to have been a means of tyrannical self-celebration—a fact that might explain the Athenians' disinclination to inscribe the name of Cimon upon them.

27. It was outside the city, in Panhellenic sanctuaries, that strategies of individual celebration could be set in place as early as the fifth century, for there, community pressure was less oppressive and new experiments could be tried out. That was precisely the case of the Athenians' ex-voto in Delphi, which included a statue of Miltiades surrounded by those of Athena, Apollo, and numerous Athenian heroes. See Duplouy (2007) 39–42.

28. Cf. *SEG* XXVIII, 45 (Honours for the Athenians of Phyle). Cf. Demosthenes, *Against Leptines,* 20.69–70; Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon,* 3.187, 190–190, and here, *supra*, pp. 74–75.

29. *SEG* XXVIII, 46. See Shear (2007a) 106–107.

30. See in particular Keesling (2003) 167.

31. On the date of the honours for Iphicrates, see Gauthier (1985) 177–180.

32. He was therefore the first citizen to enjoy, in his lifetime, all the supreme honours (*megistai timai*). Cf. Demosthenes, *Against Aristocrates,* 23.130, 136; and Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon,* 3.243. See Gauthier (1985) 106–107.

33. Chabrias won an important naval victory at Naxos against the Spartans, as did Timotheus, at Corcyra. Cf. Philochorus, *FGrHist* 328 F 151; Isocrates, *Antidosis,* 15.109; *IG* II^2 1496, l. 93.

34. Cornelius Nepos, *Timotheus*, 2.3: The statue of Timotheus was erected alongside that of his father, thereby reviving the memory of his father's exploits.

35. Biard (2012).

36. Olympia (Pausanias, 6.3.11); Delphi (Plutarch, *Lysander*, 1.1; 18.1, and Pausanias, 10.9.7–11); Ephesus (Pausanias, 6.3.15–16). See Bommelaer (1981).

37. *I. Erythrai*, 6 (Erythrae); Pausanias, 6.3.17 (Samos and Ephesus). See Ma (2006a) 124–126.

38. Ma (2003).

39. On *proedria*, see Gauthier (1985) 12, 27, and 92–103; on *sitēsis*, see Osborne (1981); Schmitt Pantel (1992) 147–155. Apart from the tyrannicides and their descendants, Cleon seems to have been the first Athenian citizen to be granted *sitēsis*, following his stunning victory at Sphacteria in 425; see Gauthier (1985) 95.

40. Gauthier (1985) 77–128, has put the story together.

41. See *supra*, p. 47. On *proedria*, see Gauthier (1985) 12, 27, and, more generally, 92–103.

42. The winners of Olympic, Pythian, Nemean, or Isthmian competitions were allotted *sitēsis* and *proedria* as early as the 430s. Cf. Plato, *Apology*, 36D-E; Demosthenes, *Against Leptines,* 20.141, and, above all, *IG* I^3 131, l. 34 (dating from around 440–432 B.C.). See Kyle (1987) 145–147; and Schmitt Pantel (1992) 148.

43. On the honours for Cleon, cf. Aristophanes, *Knights*, 573–576.

44. Citing the oath from memory and thereby slightly altering the text, Demosthenes (*Against Leptines,* 20.159), removes all ambiguity from it: 'Rather, recalling the occasions on which you have repaid the services rendered you, and remembering the inscription of Demophantus [. . .], in which it stands written and confirmed by oath that whoso shall suffer in defence of the democracy shall receive the same reward (*dōreias*) as Harmodius and Aristogiton.'

45. That is the opinion of Teegarden (2012) 441.

46. In the genesis of honorific statuary, the Eponymous Heroes group certainly also played an important role, for the monument represented Athenian Heroes on the Agora. It was certainly here that, later on, numerous honorific statues came to stand. Lucian describes it as one of the most distinguished places (*epiphanestatoi topoi*) in the city: in the *Anacharsis* (§17), Solon claims that the Athenians erected a bronze statue in honour of Anacharsis 'close to the Eponymous [Heroes]' or on the Acropolis, close to Athena.

47. See *supra*, pp. 24–25.

48. Cf. also Lysias, fr. 13a Thalheim = fr. 46 Carey (on the subject of Iphicrates): 'And mentioning Harmodius and Aristogiton, whom the Athenians regarded as the first of all their benefactors (*prōtous hapantōn tōn euergetōn*) [. . .]. See *infra*, p. 111–113.

49. Cf. *Against Demosthenes,* 1.43: 'Gentlemen, tell me, by Zeus, do you think he was not paid to propose public maintenance (*sitēsis*) in the Prytaneum and a statue in the Agora for Diphilus?' (transl. Worthington, Cooper, and Harris [2001] *ad loc.*).

50. For a nuanced judgement on the action of the orator, see Brun (2000). Actually, the strong reactions against the honours for Demades may be at least partly explained by their novelty: for it was the first time that an orator found himself awarded an honorific effigy, a privilege until then reserved solely for *stratēgoi*.

51. See Michaelis (1884) 146, pl. 48; Seltman (1947); Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 107 f.; Frel (1976) 185–188 and pl. 65–67.

52. For a description of the throne, see Seltman (1947) 23–24. However, I do not agree with him when he assumes, with not a scrap of evidence, that this engraving is a representation of Antenor's group, returned from Persia, right at the start of the third century.

53. See *infra*, pp. 189–194.

54. Frel (1976) 187.

55. The inscription mentions a certain Boethus, but is too incomplete for it to be possible to tell whether this is the name of the sculptor or that of the person to whom it is dedicated. Cf. *IG* II^2 5067 (cf. *SEG* XXVI, 272 and *SEG* XXXII, 273): BOETHOSDIOD[. . .]IOS.

56. Frel (1976) 186, compares the script of the inscription to an honorific decree from the early third century in honour of Herodorus (*IG* II^2 646), dated 295–294 B.C.

57. According to Seltman (1947) 27, the throne was installed to celebrate Demetrius Poliorcetes, in 290, on the occasion of a Pythian competition, soon after the Macedonian sovereign had chased out the tyrant Lachares, in 294 (which, according to him, accounts for the representation of the Tyrannicides). Frel (1976) 188 accepts the chronological framework proposed by Seltman, as does Frischer (1982) 250–261, according to whom the name of the Macedonian sovereign was erased *a posteriori*.

58. Thompson (1976) 4. Thompson, for his part, prefers to date the monument to 330–320.

59. See Schnapp and Lissarrague (2007) 44.

60. That is, in particular, the hypothesis favoured by Thompson (1976) 4.

61. See Beschi (1977) 33–40, who cites Fauvel's text: 'There is also a similar throne close to the Licodimo church, where there used to be one designed to stand in isolation since it had bas-reliefs on both sides, one showing Harmodius and Aristogiton, the other Aristodemus on the back, crowned with olive. On the top of this back-rest is the name BOETHOS. Carried off by Elgin.'

62. See Frischer (1982) 257: 'The same factor that favored [the survival of such thrones]—their massive bulk—also tended to keep them planted close to their original locations in the city; the unwieldiness of the thrones makes it unlikely that they were ever transported any farther than necessary.'

63. We should remember that the Prytaneum should not be confused with the Tholos of the *prytaneis*, on the classical Agora: see Miller (1978) 44–49.

64. See for example, Schmitt Pantel 1992, and the location suggested by Schmalz (2006) (map on p. 35).

65. I am here going along with the reasoning of Frischer (1982) 259.

66. *IG* I^3 137, ll. 4–6 (where, however, the term *prytaneum* is restored).

67. Cf. Andocides, *On the Mysteries* 1.45: 'And Diocleides, the man responsible for all this trouble, was being treated as the saviour of the city; they were taking him to the Prytaneum in a carriage, with a garland on his head, and he was dining there.'

68. Cf. *IG* II^2 5222.

69. The enclosure, which is dominated by the stele of Dexileus, commemorated not only Dexileus (*IG* II^2 6217), but also his brother Lysias (*IG* II^2 6227), his sister Melitta and her husband (*IG* II^2 6230), and the son of Lysias—Lysanias II, his wife, and his son (*IG* II^2 6226).

70. Ceramicus Museum, Athens, inv. no. P 1130. On the monument to Dexileus, see Ensoli (1987) and Low (2010).

71. Hurwit (2007) 39.

72. See Loraux (1982).

73. After 411, the Knights (members of the two first census classes of citizens) were forbidden to speak in the Assembly and could not be drawn by lot in order to become members of the Boule: cf. Andocides, *On the Mysteries,* 1.73 and 77–79. See Bugh (1988) 114–119. On relations between the Knights and the Thirty, see Bugh (1988) 120–153.

74. Vermeule (1970) 94–111. This concerns the *chous* preserved in Boston (for more about these, see *supra*, pp. 80–83).

75. Even if the reproduction of the Tyrannicides on the *chous* is not very successful (Harmodius' sword looks more like a wet rag than a real sword), it is hard to regard it as a parody, as has been suggested by Ober (2003) 241–245, in particular p. 244. The reason is simple: as we have seen, this vase was made for a ceremonial occasion, the Anthesteria. So it is hard to believe that the painter deliberately ridiculed the group by parodying the pose of the figure.

76. This synchronism was also noted by Ps.-Aristotle (*Athenian Constitution*, 32.2).

77. Conon furthermore received an effigy set up on the Acropolis, no doubt a family offering dedicated by Timotheus after his father's death. On this subject, see Löhr (2003) 76–77, n. 86.

78. Clairmont (1983) vol. 2, fig. 5.

79. According to Antonio Corso (2001) 5–10, this funerary connection may have been given material form by the erection of a statuary group of Tyrannicides not far off. Unfortunately, the reasoning is fragile, being based on a passage in Pliny the Elder (*Natural History*, 34.19.69–70) that is probably vitiated by a huge error. To support his demonstration, the Italian scholar commits himself to a chain of hypotheses that has all the beauty and fragility of a castle constructed of playing cards.

80. *Against Aristocrates,* 23.196. The orator repeats exactly the same argument in *On Organization,* 13.21–24, which suggests that he particularly favoured the idea.

81. Cf. Lycurgus [*Against Cephisodotus Concerning the Honors of Demades*], fr. 9.2; Demosthenes, *On Organization,* 13.21–24.

82. Perrin-Saminadayar (2004) 112–117.

83. *Supra*, pp. 97–98. According to Perrin-Saminadayar (2004) 134–137, those honoured would have been more affected by the privilege (the proclamation and the inscription) than by its concrete content (the statue itself): the text was worth more than the image. However, one must be wary of the impact of the extant sources: whereas many inscriptions have been preserved, most of the statues have disappeared. The distinctive effect of the statue resulted, precisely, from the interaction between the text and the image.

84. On the delicate question of figurative realism, see the enlightening remarks of Prost (1999) 245–255.

85. Several centuries later, Dio Chrysostom drew a distinction between votive and honorific statues in his *Rhodian Oration,* 31.57, emphasising both the closeness and the distance between the two types of portraits: 'for these are dedications [*anathēmata*] but the statues [*eikones*] are marks of honour [*timai*]. The former have been given to the gods, the latter to good men who, to be sure, are *nearest of kin to them.*'

86. Gauthier (1985) 96–103.

87. John Ma, using a well-chosen expression, thus draws attention to the existence of a veritable 'politics of the accusative': Ma (2007) 214. All the same, in the Hellenistic period, the confusion was such, in Athens, that sometimes the person honoured was celebrated in the nominative, as if he had given this supreme honour to himself.

88. Demades was honoured for his services as ambassador to Philip, following the Chaeronea defeat, but also for his role in the reconquest of Oropos in 335, as D. Knoepfler has emphasised: Knoepfler (2001a) 380. See Oliver (2007) 200, n. 23.

89. Gauthier (1985) 109, and Tanner (2006) 111. The two orators dragged Kephisodotus, who proposed the decree, before the courts (without success, however).

90. On the date of the honours for Iphicrates—in 389, not after 371, as has long been claimed—see Gauthier (1985) 177–180.

91. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 2.23.1397b30–34 and 1398a18–32; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Lysias*, 12; Ps.-Plutarch, *Lives of the Ten Orators* [Lysias], 836D. Cf. Scholia to Demosthenes, *Against Meidias,* 21.62, according to whom the speech attributed to Lysias concerning Iphicrates related 'to his honours'.

92. The same argument, in the same period, is to be found in the orator Isaeus (*On the Estate of Dicaeogenes,* 5.47). Using the same terms, he attacked a certain Dicaeogenes, a distant descendant of Harmodius: 'Further, the great Aristogiton and Harmodius were honoured, not because of their birth (*genos*) but because of their bravery (*andragathia*), of which you, Dicaeogenes, have no share'. See Schmitt Pantel (1992) 150–151.

93. Plutarch, *Sayings of Kings and Commanders*, 187B.

94. Perhaps we should here include the hierophant of Eleusis, chosen from the *genos* of the Eumolpides, who also, it would seem, received *sitēsis*. See *supra*, p. 100.

95. This critical tradition reappears, fifty years later, in Hyperides, *Against Philippides*. On this subject, see *infra*, p. 223, n. 36.

96. Will (1995) 301.

97. Aelius Aristides, *Concerning a Remark in Passing,* 28.85 (= Lysias, fr. 13a Thalheim = fr. 46 Carey), translated by Behr (1981) *ad loc.*

98. See *supra*, p. 98–99.

99. Aelius Aristides, *Concerning a Remark in Passing,* 28.85.

Chapter 8

1. Robert (2007) [1969] 603.

2. To negotiate the meandering history of Athens in the Hellenistic period, see the illuminating synthesis by Habicht (1997) [1995].

3. Antiphanes, *Diplasioi*, fr. 85 K.-A. = Athenaeus, 11.503D-E.

4. Athenaeus, 11.503D: '*Ōidos*: according to Tryphon, in his *On Terminology*, this was the term for the cup offered when a *skolion* is sung.'

5. Revealingly enough, Antiphanes uses the past tense to refer to the *Harmodios* in another preserved fragment (fr. 3 K.-A. = Athenaeus, 15.692F). Cf. Aristophanes, *Assemblywomen*, 943, and the commentaries by Lambin (1992) 308.

6. Arrian, *Anabasis*, 3.16.7–8: 'A good deal was captured there [in Susa] in addition, all that Xerxes brought back from Greece, notably the bronze statues of Harmodios and Aristogiton, which Alexander sent back to the Athenians; they are now set up at Athens, in the Ceramicus.' Cf. Arrian, *Anabasis*, 7.19.2, and Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 34.19.69–70; '[Praxiteles executed some very beautiful works in brass], and two figures of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who slew the tyrants; which last, having been taken away from Greece by Xerxes, were restored to the Athenians on the conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great.'

7. Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, 2.10.ext.1: 'When Xerxes conquered Athens, he transferred the bronze effigies of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who tried to free that city from tyranny, to his own kingdom. Then, after a long interval, Seleucus had them brought back to their original site [*Longo deinde interiecto tempore Seleucus in pristinam sedem reportandas curauit*].'

8. Arrian affirms this without hesitation, using the indicative, as he often does when basing his account on the writings of Ptolemy and Aristobulus. See Gafforini (1989) 19. This is also the opinion of Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 44–45.

9. Arrian, *Anabasis*, 1.16.7; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 16.8. According to Holtzmann (2003) 214, whether the shields ever were dedicated on the Parthenon nevertheless remains doubtful.

10. Cf. Arrian, *Anabasis*, 4.10.3–4 and 4.11.6, in which Callisthenes of Olynthus invokes the memory of the tyrannicides and tries to persuade Alexander not to behave like Cambyses or Xerxes by claiming divine honours. See Moggi (1973) 16–17 and 23; Gafforini (1989) 20.

11. Cf. Pausanias, 8.46.3. In fact it probably was not Xerxes but Darius who in 494 seized the statue of Apollo: cf. Herodotus, 6.19.

12. Hauser (1904) 181–182.

13. Gafforini (1989) 22.

14. Pausanias, 1.8.5. On the probable proximity of the two groups, see Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 131.

15. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 34.19.86, and the analysis by Corso (2004) 132. Keesling (2007) 150–152, claims (without producing any evidence) that Antignotus did indeed produce a statue of a Tyrannicide at the beginning of the Hellenistic period, but not in Athens.

16. Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 185, inclines toward the first hypothesis.

17. *IG* II^2 2971. See Kalogeropoulou (1969) (and *SEG* XXX, 206), who attributes the statue to the tyrant-legislator, as does Keesling (2007) 150. Others prefer to regard it as a celebration of his grandson who bore the same name: Tracy (1995) 41–46, and Haake (2007) 73–75. On the political role of the grandson, see Habicht (1997) [1995] 152–154 (and on the Demetrius statue of Sphettus, pp. 54–55, n. 48), and Oetjen (2000).

18. In the postscript to the second edition of his book, Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 185 thinks that Praxiteles may have been required to restore Antenor's statues when Alexander had sent them back to Athens. That is unlikely since, as far as we know, the sculptor ceased to be active ten years (at least) before the statues were returned to the Agora.

19. See, for example, Will (1979) 56–58 (on the subject of Antigonus the One-eyed and Ptolemy), and Dmitriev (2011).

20. *Anabasis*, 7.15.5: 'It was then, more than ever, that both in his own estimation and in that of his entourage, Alexander appeared to be master of every land and sea.' See Stewart (1993) 101.

21. *Anabasis*, 7.19.1–2.

22. In her chapter devoted to Alexander, Mitchell (1998) 167–177 does not tackle this episode. Although there may not be serious reasons for doubting Arrian's testimony, it seems reasonable to suppose that his account may be partly influenced by the practical politics of his period; every time the emperor won a victory, the Greek cities never failed to send congratulatory embassies.

23. It was at this very point that Alexander entrusted to Craterus the mission of protecting 'the freedom of the Greeks' (*tōn Hellēnōn tēs eleutherias: Anabasis*, 7.12.4.).

24. *Against Demosthenes* 5.32. In the absence of a clear context, it is not impossible that this reproach may have been addressed, not to Demosthenes, but to Alexander's mother, Olympias, whose name appears in the preceding paragraph.

25. From an imposing bibliography, see Habicht (1970) [1956] 28–36; Badian (1981); Cawkwell (1994); Brun (2000) 97–107; Kotsidu (2000) 28–29 no. 6.

26. See Stewart (1993) 100–102 and 208, followed by Worthington (2001).

27. This is a development in vocabulary peculiar to the late classical period. The term certainly had other implications in the archaic period: see Day (2010) 124–129 (*How not to define* agalma *in inscriptions*), and Lanérès (2012).

28. Pausanias, 1.9.4: 'After the [statues of the] Egyptian [kings] come statues of Philip and of his son Alexander.' Situated, as they were, in front of the entrance to the Odeon of Agrippa, these effigies themselves stood alongside the Tyrannicides group (1.8.5–6). On these statues, see Kotsidu (2000) 23–24, no. 1 (Philip II), and 26, no. 3 (Alexander the Great). This positioning is not surprising if one bears in mind that Philip and Alexander presented themselves as the defenders of the liberty of the Greeks in their struggle against the Persian enemy. Perhaps it was on this account that they had received a statue from the Athenians. See *supra*, pp. 119–120.

29. On the context, see, for example, Habicht (1997) [1995] 36–42.

30. See Herrman (2009) 16, and already Loraux (1986) [1981] 127–128.

31. *Funeral Oration* 6.35, translated by Worthington, Cooper, and Harris (2001) *ad loc*. Cf. Plutarch, *Pericles*, 28.5.

32. Cf. Lysias, *Funeral Oration* 2.69; the soldiers of the Corinthian War 'preserved the glory [of their ancestors]'. See Herrman (2009) 102–103.

33. There was, however, one point of contact: the polemarch was expected 'to perform destruction sacrifices [*enagismata*] for the war dead and for Harmodius and Aristogiton' (Ps.-Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 58.1).

34. Philip II of Macedon: Demosthenes, *Second Olynthiac,* 2.21; *Second Philippic,* 6.23–25; *On the Crown,* 18.66 and 231; Alexander III of Macedon: Ps.-Demosthenes, *On the Treaty with Alexander,* 17.4, 6, 11, 21, 29.

35. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 2.23.1398a18–22. See *supra*, p. 111–114.

36. As Hyperides saw it, the memory of the tyrannicides had also suffered from the behaviour of one of their descendants who was too friendly with the Macedonians. In *Against Philippides* (2), delivered in 336, the orator attacked a certain Democrates of Aphidna, 'seated constantly at their side and (?) organising their claque', covering Athenians with insults during the day, but then coming every evening to claim his dinner at the Prytaneum, as a distant descendant of the tyrannicides.

37. See, for example, Habicht (1997) [1995] 53–66.

38. Habicht (1997) [1995] 87. See also Shear (1970) 171–176 and 196–198, and Kotsidu (2000) 33–38, no. 9.

39. See Whitehorne (1975), and Ma (2006a) 126.

40. Unless constantly tended, bronze was inclined to lose its brilliance, the surface becoming covered by dirt and verdigris. Cf. Plutarch, *On the Oracles of the Pythia*, 1.395A-B.

41. See, for example, Oliver (2007) 184 (table).

42. Cf. *IG* II^2 450 fr. B, ll. 7–12 (314/313 B.C.); *IG* II^2 646, ll. 37–40 (295/294 B.C.). For a detailed analysis of these decrees, see *infra*, p. xxx.

43. *Hou hoi nomoi ouk apagoreuousin*: cf. *IG* II^2 1006, ll. 95–96; *SEG* XIX, 108 (the formula has been restored).

44. *Plēn hou hoi nomoi apagoreuousin:* cf. *IG* II^2 966, ll. 20–21; *IG* II^2 1008, l. 63, 71; *IG* II^2 1009, l. 42; *IG* II^2 1011, ll. 50–51; *IG* II^2 1039, l. 39. On these stereotyped clauses, see Perrin-Saminadayar (2004) 119–120, and Oliver (2007) 198.

45. In this respect, the total absence of any reference to Demetrius of Phaleron in Philippe Gauthier's masterwork (1985) seems symptomatic.

46. Cornelius Nepos, *Miltiades*, 6; Strabo, *Geography*, 9.1.20; Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 34.12.2; Plutarch, *Sayings of Kings and Commanders*, 820E; Favorinus [Dio Chrysostom], *Corinthian Discourse,* 37.41; Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, 5.75–77; Ampelius, *Liber Memorialis*, 15.19. To these perhaps could be added from the epigraphical sources the base of an equestrian statue voted by the Sphettians, in honour of Demetrius of Phaleron (if, that is, the subject is indeed the legislator and not his grandson). See *supra*, p. 119.

47. Azoulay (2009a) 312–313.

48. With one exception that is situated on the Acropolis: cf. Diogenes Laertius, 5.77. On the meaning of this astonishing anomaly, see Azoulay (2009a) 332–335.

49. *IG* II^2 450 fr. B, ll. 7–12: *e[xei]nai de autōi kai eikona stēsai heautou chalkēn eph'hippou en agorai hopou an boulētai plēn par' Harmodion kai Aristogeiton[a].*

50. Plutarch, *On the Delays of Divine Vengeance*, 16.559D: 'I would affirm that the Athenians were more unjust to the statue of Cassander when they caused it to be melted down and defaced [. . .].'

51. Ps.-Plutarch, *Lives of the Ten Orators* [Lycurgus], 852E. However, some historians doubt whether, in this period, there existed any official law. See Oliver (2007) 198.

52. *IG* II^2 646, ll. 37–40: *[plēn par' Harmo]dion kai Aristogeito[na kai tous Sōt]ēras.*

53. See Habicht (1992) 85.

54. Pausanias, 1.9.4–5 (Lysimachus) and 1.11.1 (Pyrrhus); Kotsidu (2000) nos. 7 and 8. On the localisation of these statues to the north of the Odeon, see Thompson (1950b) 73, and Kotsidu (2000) 64 and map, p. 654. The Agora certainly contained plenty of other statues voted in honour of Hellenistic kings that are more difficult to localise. On this subject, see Perrin-Saminadayar (2007) 156.

55. This southern location is suggested by Heinemann (1995) 312 (and n. 13). He is followed by Krumeich and Witschel (2009) 176, n. 12. *Contra* Thompson (1950b) 73, or Kotsidu (2000) 64 no. 16 (who situates the statues of the Ptolemies 'vor der Nordfront des Odeions'). In truth, everything depends, on one hand, on the date when the first Odeon, constructed by Agrippa, collapsed and was then rebuilt (A.D. 143–150, to judge by the marks found on the roof tiles) and, on the other, the point at which Pausanias travelled to Athens (the *Periegesis* was completed between A.D. 170 and 175). In its earlier state, the main entrance to the Odeon was on the southern side; in its later form, the entrance was on the north. The fact remains that, at the point when he refers to the various royal statues, Pausanias has just described the statues of the Tyrannicides, situated between the temple of Ares and the northern entrance to the Odeon. It seems to me that it would make more sense of Pausanias' account for the effigies of the Epigonoi to be within the same zone, rather than several dozen metres to the south.

56. Oliver (2007) 203, n. 158: '[The statues of Alexander the Great and Philip II] stood in the same general area of the Agora as Harmodios and Aristogeiton, but nothing suggests that the two Macedonian kings stood next to the Tyrannicides.'

57. See Heinen (1972) 134: 'Es ist möglich, dass diese Bildwerke zu Lebzeiten der jeweilingen Herrscher aufgestellt worden sind. Aber ausgeschlossen ist es nicht, dass sie in eine spätere Zeit zurückgehen und die ganze Reihe, oder doch ein grösserer Teil davon, geschlossen gestiftet worden ist.' [It is certainly possible that these sculptures may have been set up at the times of each of these sovereigns. But it is not ruled out that they were collected together at a later date and that the entire collection (or the major part of it) may at this point have been put together and completed.] This is the hypothesis that is repeated by Krumeich and Witschel (2009) 176 (and n. 12).

58. The statue of Demochares, set up in the Agora in 271/270, was later moved to the Prytaneum (Ps.-Plutarch, *Lives of the Ten Orators*, 847D-E). This proves that such a shift was possible, but in no way makes it certain.

59. In Priene, the Agora was widely extended around 130 B.C. The Northern Stoa was dismantled and replaced by another building (the 'Sacred Stoa'), which was both wider and longer, a fact that led to the shifting and realignment of around thirty honorific monuments. On this matter, see Ma (2013) 114.

60. This hypothesis is considered, with prudence, by Ma (2013) 113, n. 9.

61. On this evolution of the Agora, see *infra*, p. 150.

62. By adopting the role of devil's advocate and imagining all possible objections, one might likewise suggest that the Ptolemies' effigies were all set up at the same time, at the instigation of Ptolemy IX Philometor, so as to compose a retrospective group that redounded to his own glory. Nevertheless, that would suggest an Athens that was particularly weak and allowed Ptolemy IX an extreme latitude of action within a prestigious zone of the Agora; furthermore, it would in no way explain the presence, within the same zone, of the statues of Pyrrhus and Lysimachus, for these were not at all related to the Ptolemaic sovereigns and so had no place in this 'family portrait'.

63. See *supra*, pp. 119–120.

64. Pausanias, 1.9.4: 'After the Egyptians come statues of Philip and of his son, Alexander.'

65. That is what is suggested by the decree of Callias (*Hesperia*, Suppl. 17, 1978, pp. 2–4 = *SEG* XXVIII, 60, ll. 40–55). On the alliance between Athens and the Ptolemies after 287, see Habicht (1997) [1995] 126–129. On the award of this honorific effigy, see Kotsidu (2000) 64–65, no. 16, with earlier bibliography (dating between 287 and 283).

66. Cf. Ps.-Plutarch, *Lives of the Ten Orators* [Lycurgus], 851D-F (*c*. 286/285 B.C.). See Ameling, Bringmann, Schmidt-Dounas, and von Steuben (1995) 26–28, no. 7. Following Ipsos in 301, Lysimachus had already offered the Athenians 10,000 *medimnoi* of cereals (*IG* II^2 657) and had been honoured by an *aristeia* crown: see Burstein (1978) 181–185, and Ameling *et al*. (1995) 21–25, no. 6.

67. On the erection of the statue of Lysimachus (*c*. 285 B.C.?), see Krumeich and Witschel (2009) 205 (and n. 121); *contra* Kotsidu (2000) no. 7, pp. 31–32, who dates this honour to 299/298 B.C., after a large gift of wheat was sent to Athens.

68. The statue was probably erected in about 285 B.C. See Krumeich and Witschel (2009) 205 (and n. 121); *contra* Kotsidu (2000) 33, no. 8, who favours a later dating (*c*. 276–272) but provides no justification for this. On the welcome reserved for Pyrrhus and the dialogue then prompted by the intervention of the Tyrannicides, see *infra*, pp. 132–133.

69. *IG* II^2 687, ll. 11–12 and 17–19 (transl. Bagnall and Derow [2004] no. 19).

70. See Habicht (1997) [1995] 144.

71. See *supra*, p. 44. On these statues, see Kotsidu (2000) 65, no. 17, who dates their erection after 273. Honours that associated a king and a queen were in no way exceptional, as can be seen from the case of Antiochus III and Laodice in Teos, around 203 B.C. (on which, see Ma [1999] 308–317, nos. 17–18).

72. For example, see the remarkable contributions of Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 123–124 and 133; Habicht (1997) [1995] 357–358; or Oliver (2007) 198–199 ('spatial exclusivity surrounding the Tyrannicides') who attempts to reply to the objection in n. 158.

73. After 229, most honorific effigies were concentrated in a new space: the sanctuary of Demos and the Charites, to the northwest of the Agora, on the northern slope of the

Kolonos agoraios. A sign of the times is that it was here that Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenice (*IG* II^2 4676) received a cult. See Monaco (2001) [2003] 103–150.

74. See Bertrand (1990), and Ma (1999) 179–242.

75. The honorific practices of another democratic city, Rhodes, are instructive in this respect. Diodorus Siculus (20.93.6–7) records a stormy meeting of the Assembly to decide the fate of the statues voted in favour of Antigonus and Demetrius, when the two sovereigns besieged the town in 305 B.C. The Rhodians decided not to destroy their effigies, not because they intended to grovel before their enemies, but to draw attention to the guilt of the latter and eventually to obtain political benefits in reparation.

76. To adapt an expression forged by medievalists commenting on the relations between the king and the law: on this subject, see Krynen (1993) 47.

77. See the remarks of Perrin-Saminadayar (2009) 28–29: 'One may even wonder whether, from the point of view of the city, opening up the *opisthodomos* to the king was not in effect a very symbolic way of indicating that it was opening up its financial reserves and placing them at his disposal. However, it cannot have imagined that it would be taken quite literally and that it would see its temple converted into a tavern, let alone a brothel.'

78. See Habicht (1997) [1995] 125.

79. Perrin-Saminadayar (2004–2005) [2006] 371–372.

80. It was no doubt after receiving the *megistai timai* that Pyrrhus held forth again, chiding the Athenians, for otherwise it would be hard to see why he should begin by thanking them for their *eunoia*. On the very frequent use of this term in honorific decrees, see Ma (1999) 192–194.

81. See *supra*, p. 130.

82. White (1991): the *middle ground,* at once a geographical place and a political space, designates an 'area for agreement', created despite or even as a result of conflicts, within which shared practices and meanings can be worked out between peoples who were initially total strangers. Such a reciprocal adjustment corresponds closely to the kind of dialogue that developed between kings and cities in the Hellenistic period.

83. Azoulay (2009a) 339–340.

84. On this subject, see Bruit and Lissarrague (2004) 226.

85. Valerius Maximus interprets the Rhodian ritual in the light of the Roman *lectisternium*. The Romans would place divine images on sacred 'couches' (*pulvinar*) so as to serve them a meal at the time of the *lectisternium*. See Rodriguez (2005) 625, and van den Berg (2008).

86. Cf. *Anabasis*, 7.12.4 (Alexander, the protector of the liberty of Greek cities). See *supra*, p. 119–120.

87. If, as is possible, the return of the effigies was decided by Alexander, the Rhodians may have seized upon the opportunity to claim their own liberation: a few months later, when Alexander died, they expelled their Macedonian garrison (Diodorus Siculus, 18.8.1). But if, as Valerius Maximus believes, the group was returned at the start of the third century, the Rhodians could have considered this a pretext to celebrate their own dearly defended liberty against the attacks of Demetrius Poliorcetes, a few years earlier, in 305 B.C.

88. See *infra*, pp. 188–189.

89. With the exception of the *Republic of the Lacedaemonians*, almost all of this author's works seem to have been produced after 370; in fact, the majority of them after 362. On this, see Marschall (1928), and Azoulay (2004) 15.

90. Here again we find the polarity between *hagios* and *agos*, holiness and defilement, discussed *supra*, pp. 18–20 and pp. 86–89. On the ritual status of the justified killer in Athens, see Parker (1983) 366–369.

91. That is the opinion of Knoepfler (2001b) 211.

92. See Azoulay (2012) 344 and 349–352.

93. See Knoepfler (2002) 203, ll. 6–10: 'And whoever kills a member of the tyrant's faction or the tyrant, if he is a citizen, [. . .] shall be given to him [. . .] and stand near the altar his [. . .] bronze statue. And he shall have a front seat at festivals that the polis sponsors and public maintenance [at the Prytaneum?] in the town hall as long as he lives' (transl. Teegarden [2014] 63).

94. In the same period, Aristotle likewise refers to the distinctions awarded to the murderers of tyrants, without, however, indicating whether this is a general phenomenon or specifically an Athenian one: '[. . .] men do not become tyrants to avoid shivering with cold, and accordingly high honours are awarded to one who kills a tyrant, but not to one who kills a thief' (*Politics*, 2.7.13.1267a15).

95. *Syll.*^{3} 284; *I. Erythrai* 503. According to Heisserer (1979) 293, the statue of Philites was erected around 300. The decree ordering the restoration of the damaged statue to its original aspect might, for its part, be dated to the mid–third century: see *supra*, p. 67. Nevertheless, the criteria upon which these datings are based are fragile: see Fröhlich (2004) 544–545.

96. Edition: *OGIS* 218; *I. Ilion* 25, col. I. ll. 19–28; translation Teegarden (2014) 179. The rewards were carefully modulated to suit the status of the assassin. See already Friedel (1937) 85. On the law itself, see Koch (1996) 47 (and the remarks of Gauthier, *Bull. ép*. 1997, 135; *SEG* XLVI, 1562).

97. On this question, see Azoulay (2004) 171–230.

98. To this list may be added the statue of a tyrannicide erected in Samos (*IG* XII, 6, 280). The inscription engraved on the base, extremely damaged, may be dated to the end of the fourth century B.C.

99. Some scholars thus postulate the existence of true danger to justify the decision—but that is purely speculative. Berve (1967) I, 419. See, more recently, Eck (2012) 329–330.

100. Cf. e.g. *I. Priene*, 11 (*c*. 297 B.C.): the decree organises the *Sōteria* festival, instituted in memory of the restoration of autonomy and liberty, following the fall of tyranny—although the actual word *turannon* was restored (l. 11). In the first half of the third century, a Kyme decree (*I. Kyme*, 12) also seems to refer to a tyrannical episode or at least to the end of a period of *stasis*, as is suggested by Hamon (2008) 103–105 (who also re-edits the decree as a whole). Also worth mentioning is the case of the citizens of Cos and Calymna, who were merged into a single community at the end of the third century B.C. and who swore 'never to establish an oligarchy, a tyrant or any other regime apart from a democracy' (*StV* III, 545, ll. 21–23).

101. *FGrHist* 239. The standard reference work remains that by Jacoby (1904).

102. Respectively, *FGrHist* 239 F 45 and 54.

103. *Contra* Chaniotis (1988) 87–89.

104. This is distinctive not only for the use of the Athenian system of chronography to date events (the advent of kings and archons), but also for manifest distortions such as the attribution of the Plataea victory solely to the Athenians. Similarly, the Chronicle pays particular attention to the Ptolemies following Alexander's death: the role played by Ptolemy II in the liberation of Athens in 267 is certainly a case in point. See Clarke (2008) 325–335.

105. Clarke (2008) 325–326.

106. The immediately succeeding portion of the inscription is in keeping, for it mentions in quick succession a victory for Sophocles in the tragedy competition (F 56), a natural catastrophe, and the death of Simonides of Ceos (F 57).

107. See Trypanis (1960); Robert, *Bull. ép.* 1961, 472; *SEG* XVI, 497 and XVII, 392.

108. Lebedev (1996) 266–267. The hypothesis is based on two arguments. First, the epigram refers to an 'Aristogiton armed with a spear', but the statue in the Agora did not carry a spear. The poem must therefore refer to another monument erected in honour of the tyrannicides in Athens, at the Cenotaph in the Ceramicus; secondly, the Chios poem uses three words (*hoi ktanon andra tura[nnon]*) that also appear in a funerary epigram discovered in Olbia: this seems to prove that they both derive from a common Attic original engraved on the Ceramicus cenotaph. However, these arguments are extremely fragile, in particular the comparison with the mutilated Olbia inscription. On the latter, see *infra*, p. 138 and pp. 228–229, n. 116.

109. Lebedev (1996) 267. This attribution rests upon one single argument (apart from the inscription being located in Chios): in the same collection of poems, there is another epigram, which celebrates the victory of an anonymous poet whose father's name is Xouthus, as is that of the father of Ion of Chios. Does that suffice to prove that he is the author of the preceding poem? That is by no means certain.

110. Day (1985) 40 and 43. There really is no reason why the epigram should not refer to the statues of the Tyrannicides: in the first place, the term *sēma* is entirely restored by the epigraphists; and secondly, in poetic language, the term *aichmētēs* can mean simply 'warrior'—and not 'spear-man' (see *LSJ, aichmē*, III). On this subject, see Trypanis (1960) 72, and Versnel (1990) 55, n. 45.

111. Trypanis (1960) 72. On this lack of connection between the monument and the epigram (and the consequences that are implied), see, for example, Bing (1995) 131.

112. Cf. e.g. Peplus Aristoteleus, nos. 13–14 Diehl.

113. Trypanis (1960) 74. This could be a collection of poems by Ion of Chios, reproduced in his country of origin.

114. The fact that this collection of poems might be attributable to Ion of Chios (Lebedev (1996) 267) makes no difference: it is as epigrams belonging to the cultural patrimony of Chios that these poems are gathered together, not on account of the original political perspective in which they had been composed.

115. However, the Chios inscription does not, as is sometimes claimed, reflect 'the diffusion of the heroic cult of the tyrannicides throughout the cities of the maritime confederation, as an important part of Athenian politico-religious culture': Duplouy (2003) 16. For one thing, the epigram mentions no cult in honour of the Tyrannicides; and, besides, the date of the engraving (third to second century) is more than one and a half centuries after the collapse of the second maritime confederation.

116. *CEG* II, 84. There are several reasons why this inscription should be regarded with considerable circumspection. In the first place, the names of Harmodius and Aristogiton do not appear in the Olbia epigram, not even after it has been copiously restored; secondly, we know nothing about the archaeological context of its discovery, and we do not even know if it was the base of a statue (Vinogradov) or an inscription engraved on a wall (Lebedev); finally, the datings suggested are uncertain, founded as they are on circular reasoning: late fifth century, amid a troubled political context (Vinogradov)? late fourth century, after the siege of Olbia, commanded by Zopyrion, one of Alexander the Great's *stratēgoi* (Lebedev)?

Or even the mid–third century (on palaeographic grounds)? On this subject, see the lively exchange between Lebedev on one hand (1996) 263–268 and Vinogradov and Rusjaeva (1998) 164 on the other. The uncertainties are too great for any credible hypothesis to be elaborated.

Chapter 9

1. *Republic*, 8.566A-567D. According to Plato, a democracy changes into a tyranny in accordance with an inevitable mechanism. What it seeks to avoid, it will inevitably produce as it becomes increasingly radical. Unstoppably, the democratic leader is gradually transformed into a bloodthirsty wolf.

2. Habicht (1997) [1995] 247.

3. See, for example, Habicht (1997) [1995] 258–260 and 287–289.

4. See Dmitriev (2011) 166–199.

5. The enthusiasm of the Athenians may well have been faked: the city probably had no choice but to follow Brutus and Cassius when they disembarked in Greece. The 42 B.C. siege of Rhodes, which resisted Caesar's assassins, testifies to the fate reserved for such recalcitrants; cf. Plutarch, *Brutus*, 30.2.

6. See Coarelli (1969) 137 and 142 (inscriptions from the Republican period).

7. Respectively *Musei Capitolini*, Inv. 2404, and *Museo Vaticano*, Inv. 906. See Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 55–58 (A3, a and b); Pulte (1999) 371–372.

8. Attempts have been made to connect the Aristogiton of the Capitol to a head of Harmodius preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. See Schuchhardt and Landwehr (1986) 103 and n. 23. As often happens, stylistic links nevertheless turn out to be fragile and controversial.

9. Coarelli (1969) 142; Schuchhardt and Landwehr (1986) 120; Reusser (1993) 113–114; Pulte (1999) 371–372.

10. Cf. e.g. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, 1.49.116 (an exaltation of the heroic dead), and *For Milo*, 80; Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 34.9.17 (statuary group).

11. *Natural History*, 34.9.17 and *supra*, p. 27. The comparison was all the more striking given that Tarquin the Proud was sometimes assimilated to a tyrant. Cf. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, 1.37.89: 'If death indeed had been their fear, L. Brutus would not have fallen in battle, preventing the return of the tyrant whom he had himself driven out [*non L. Brutus arcens eum reditu tyrannum (*i.e. *Tarquinius), quem ipse expulerat, in proelio concidisset*].'

12. Plutarch, *Brutus*, 1.1. See Coarelli (1999) 368–369, and here, *infra*, p. 149.

13. Hees-Landwehr (1985) 41–42 and 76 f.

14. See *infra*, pp. 148–150.

15. Coarelli (1969) 143. See also Pina Polo (2006) 90; Germini (2008) 36.

16. Plutarch, *Comparison of Dion and Brutus*, 5.1–2.

17. Tacitus, *Annals*, 3.76.2 (the burial of Iunia, sister of Brutus and widow of C. Cassius). However, the two situations—one in Milan, the other in Rome—have nothing in common: it is one thing not to destroy the effigy of a noble in an outlying city, but quite another to preserve a statuary group on the Capitol of the *Urbs*, thereby indirectly celebrating the death of Caesar, Octavian's adoptive father.

18. Coarelli (1969). See also Hoffmann and Deniaux (2009) 30–34; Etcheto (2012) 287–289.

19. *Letters to Atticus*, 6.1.17, and Coarelli (1969) 145–146.

20. Cf. e.g. Cicero, *De amicitia*, 12.41; Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus*, 19.3.

21. See Ferrary (1983), and Hoffmann and Deniaux (2009) 31.

22. Appian, *Civil Wars*, 1.16.70.

23. As Caesar was in Gaul, Pompey, who was the sole consul, associated Metellus Pius with his consulate and married one of his daughters; Plutarch, *Pompey*, 55. On these matters, see Broughton (1952) 234–235 (with references).

24. See *supra*, p. 139.

25. Consul in 138 B.C., Scipio Nasica had a long wait before being granted the public homage of an effigy, according to Macrobius, *In somn. Scip.*, 1.4.2: the statue set up by Metellus Scipio may have been the first.

26. Hees-Landwehr (1985) 41. These objections are repeated by Germini (2008) 35, and Pina Polo (2006) 90. The latter prefers to connect the Aristogiton of the Capitol with the action of Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, the inveterate opponent of Caius Gracchus. The latter played a role in the consecration of the temple of *Fides* (between 115 and 109 B.C.)—the intended site for the Tyrannicides group (p. 91–92). That is a possibility, but there is no real evidence for such a hypothesis.

27. Colini (1938) 282; Reusser (1993) 113–119.

28. On this subject, see Picard (1959) 270, followed by Reusser (1993) 113–119.

29. Papini (2010) mentions a 'marmo a grana fine (pentelico?)'. The enquiry is worth pursuing for, according to Francis Prost, the grain of the marble does not correspond to that from Pentelicon. The very most that can be agreed upon is that it had a delicate crystalline structure: Schuchhardt and Landwehr (1986) 1. The uncertainty is troublesome, for it seems unlikely that the Athenians would have offered a sculpture in a material that had not come from their own quarries. But is that sufficient reason to conclude that Sulla might himself have ordered this copy from a neo-Attic workshop established in Italy? Prudence is called for here, since we have no idea where the marble came from, and it is just as likely to have come from another local quarry (Hymettus?) or from the Aegean islands. Besides, we know of no neo-Attic workshops established in Italy in this period.

30. It is to this zone that we can trace a series of inscriptions on travertine stone from the second and first centuries B.C., dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the Roman people by the grateful peoples of the Hellenistic East. On these inscriptions, see *ILLRP*, nos. 174–181a, b; Moretti (1968) 15f; Lintott (1978) 137–144; Ferrary (1988) 185–186 (and n. 211–212); Reusser (1993) 226–235. Even if the inscriptions do not all date from the Sullan period, they were, however, re-engraved after 83 B.C., at the same time as new dedications were being engraved.

31. *ILLRP*, no. 174. See Ferrary (1988) 185, according to whom the offering was connected either with the liberation of 167, or at the time of its confirmation by Sulla, in 85 B.C.

32. Habicht (1997) [1995] 305–306.

33. Roman soldiers destroyed the shields hung in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (Pausanias, 10.21.5–6). See Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 23.

34. Plutarch, *Sayings of Kings and Commanders*, 202E.

35. Habicht (1997) [1995] 311.

36. Cf. e.g. Plutarch, *Sulla*, 13.1–2.

37. Cf. *IG* II^2 1039, l. 57 (ephebic decree, *c*. 79–78 B.C.: *SEG* XXII, 110). See Santangelo (2007) 215–216.

38. See Raubitschek (1951) 55–56.

39. *IG* II^2 4103; *SEG* XXIV, 214 (84/83 B.C.?). Sulla was probably not the only Roman to be honoured by a statue. At least, that is what is suggested by the drums on an honorific column bearing an unfinished inscription for Quintus Lutatius Q. f., who has sometimes been identified as Quintus Lutatius Catullus, who was close to Sulla. On this subject, see Thompson (1950a) 318 and pl. 100 a and c.

40. Pausanias, 1.9.3. Perhaps this silence can be explained by the aid (which turned out to be ineffective) that Ptolemy IX offered Sulla. Pausanias (1.20.7) severely criticises the Roman general for his 'terrible cruelty' toward the Athenians, and he no doubt disapproved of this Ptolemaic king, who had made peace with the butcher of Athens.

41. Cf. Plutarch, *Lucullus*, 2.6–3.1. On these two statues, see Kotsidu (2000) 71, no. 21, who dates their erection to their combined rule (*Samtherrschaft*), from 86 to 81 B.C. See also Santangelo (2005) 325.

42. See Habicht (1976) 135–143, followed by Flament (2007) 147 and 150. However, some scholars challenge certain details in this new chronology, such as Kroll (1993) 81–82, who suggests that minting was suspended for five years and accordingly dates these coins to several years later (around 79 B.C.).

43. Habicht (1997) [1995] 317. Perhaps we should invoke the role played by the Gephyraeans in this reactivation of the image of the tyrannicides—and it has even been suggested that Mentor and Moschion belonged to the prestigious *genos* that, as we should remember, produced the two tyrannicides. See Ismard (2010) 372 (and n. 220). Although the conjecture is attractive, there are unfortunately no grounds for supporting it.

44. Plutarch, *Sulla*, 26; Cornelius Nepos, *Atticus*, 4; see Herzog (1996) 81–84.

45. Reusser (1993) 117–119. See *supra*, p. 145.

46. See Valette-Cagnac (2005) 14–15. See also Edwards (2003), who, however, does not explore the case of the Aristogiton of the Capitol.

47. The monuments glorifying Sulla were probably not toppled after his death. The dictator was not subjected to a *damnatio memoriae*, as is indicated by the presence of his effigy in the gallery of *Summi viri* in the forum of Augustus and by Caesar's restoration of his equestrian portrait on the Rostra, in 44 B.C. (Suetonius, *Life of Caesar*, 75). See Germini (2008) 39.

48. See Germini (2008) 38.

49. This is the view of, for instance, Cuniberti (2006) 137–144.

50. See on this subject Heller (2009) 341–373.

51. A fragment of the inscribed base of the statue of Brutus was discovered on the Agora: see Raubitschek (1957) and Raubitschek (1959) 15–21, according to whom the Athenians may have re-inscribed—and reattributed—one of the groups of Tyrannicides that then stood on the Agora (p. 21), which would indicate an honour that was all the more unusual.

52. This was certainly an immense privilege (although one less exceptional than is sometimes claimed). It is worth pointing out that neither Dio Cassius (for Brutus and Cassius) nor Diodorus Siculus (for Antigonus and Demetrius) ever claimed that this was a unique and unparalleled honour.

53. See Alföldi (1954) 162–163.

54. Plutarch, *Brutus*, 1.1. The statue of the Elder Brutus was probably erected as early as the fourth century B.C. See Evans (1990), and Sehlmeyer (1999) 190, n. 73.

55. Plutarch, *Brutus*, 9.3. Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars*, 2.16.112: ‘Whether Brutus was ungrateful [. . .] or whether, because he was a descendant of that Brutus of the olden time who expelled the kings, he was aroused and shamed to this deed principally by the people (for there were secretly affixed to the statues of the elder Brutus and also to Brutus’ own tribunal such writings as ‘Brutus, are you bribed?’ ‘Brutus, are you dead?’ ‘Thou should’st be living at this hour!’ ‘Your posterity is unworthy of you’ or ‘You are not *his* descendant’)—at any rate these and many like incentives fired the young man to a deed like that of his ancestor.’ Cf. Cassius Dio, 43.45.2–4 and 44.12.3; Plutarch, *Caesar*, 62.4; Suetonius, *Caesar*, 80.

56. Cassius Dio, 44.4.4. (*senatus consultum*). On the statues of Caesar in Athens, see Hoff (1989) 272, n. 29.

57. On the architectural upheavals in first-century B.C. Athens, see Borg (2011). On relations between Athens and Augustus, see Walker (1997). Augustus on several occasions manifested his irritation with the Athenians, who had sided with Mark Antony; cf. Dio Cassius, 54.7.2–3 (where the emperor’s annoyance is caused by the statue of Athena on the Acropolis, deliberately facing westward, with her lips stained with blood, as if she were spitting at Rome); Plutarch, *Sayings of Kings and Commanders*, 207F. See Hoff (1989) 267–269.

58. On the dating of the Odeon, see Thompson (1950b) 85 and 139–140 (middle of the Augustan period); and Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 111–114. On the meaning of the monument, its iconographic programme, and the type of activities that took place there, see Spawforth (2012) 59–80.

59. See McAllister (1959) 2 (for an Augustan dating, thanks to the ceramics and the identification marks engraved on blocks of marble). On the provenance of the two original temples (probably Pallene, not Acharnai), see Camp (2001) 116–117.

60. *Lover of Lies,* 5 and 17.

61. Transl. A.-M. Harmon, Loeb, modified. On the artists and the works cited, see Ebner, Gzella, Nesselrath, and Ribbat (2001) *ad loc.*, 124–125.

62. See Blümer (1867) 93, and Weber (1983) 199–200.

63. Having for a while considered a career as a sculptor, Lucian then turned to rhetoric (*The Dream; or, the Life of Lucian*, 2–14). He viewed the works of Critius and Nesiotes with the eye of a connoisseur. According to him, they were characterised by their lines that were ‘wasp-waisted, sinewy, hard, meticulously definite in their contours’ (*A Professor of Public Speaking*, 9).

64. See Germini (2008) 32.

65. In all, six partial copies of Aristogiton and eight of Harmodius have been found. See the list drawn up by Reusser (1993) 117, and reconsidered by Germini (2008) p. 32, n. 78.

66. See Mari (1983–1984) 121–122, no. 1, pl. 27–30. The villa, built in the second century B.C., continued to be occupied in the centuries that followed, so the date of the Harmodius copy remains hypothetical. Furthermore, it is unlikely that the house belonged to the family of the assassin of Caesar. On this subject, see Germini (2008) 32, n. 80, and Tombrägel (2012) 84–86, 95–99, and 160–162. On the analysis of the Greek statues found in the villa, see Dillon (2000) 30–35.

67. See, for example, Schuchhardt and Landwehr (1986) 85–110 (on the Naples group) and, in particular, 107–108 (for the dating based on a study of the base and the style of the copy).

68. Even the famous group exhibited in the Archaeological Museum of Naples has no identified provenance, as has been shown by Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 47, n. 2.

69. See Hees-Landwehr (1985) 4–5 and 188.

70. Juvenal, *Satires*, 11.49 (the Baiae oysters); Strabo, *Geography*, 5.4.5 (Baiae as a place of *truphē* and thermal cures). Emperor Hadrian went to Baiae, seeking respite from his pains, and ended his days there in 138: *SHA (Scriptores Historiae Augustae), Life of Hadrian*, 25 and *Life of Antoninus Pius*, 5; Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, 14. See D'Arms (1970).

71. See Hees-Landwehr (1985) 181.

72. On this point, see Ridgway (1984) 6–11 and 82. Actually, the copies do not always relate to one specific prototype but function in an *aemulatio* fashion (being created on the basis of several prototypes, resulting in a new original) or as an *imitatio* (a free imitation of a single Greek prototype). See also Stewart (2003) 233, n. 41.

73. See Henderson (1996) 333, and Wallace-Hadrill (1998) 1, according to whom the transformation of Greek public monuments into purely decorative sculptures was an indication of Rome's political supremacy, and not of the Greeks' cultural domination over the Romans.

74. Ma (2006b) 328.

75. Ma (2006b) 329: 'Appropriation can never be complete.'

76. See Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 61–81, and Ridgway (1970) 80–83, who rightly emphasises 'the relative paucity of known Roman copies' (p. 81). Cf. Ridgway (1984) 67 (*contra* Stewart [2003] 232).

77. For a comparative quantitative approach, see Ridgway (1984) 99–101, and Dillon (2000) 35. Out of 510 copies of Greek statues found in the Roman world, 23 subjects can be identified. Of these, 10 are represented in over 20 examples: Homer, Hesiod, Sophocles, Euripides, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, Epicurus, and Menander.

78. The presence of Demosthenes should cause no surprise: it was as the model of a perfect orator that his statue found its place in the Roman *domus*, not as the politician immersed in the political struggles of his day. See Ridgway (1984) 99. The same applies, to a lesser extent, to the portraits of Pericles.

79. On this question, see, for example, Elsner (1998) 106–113 and 169–185.

80. What better way to convey that the effigies of Harmodius and Aristogiton were valued as symbols rather than for their matter or form?

81. See *supra*, p. 62. Cf. Ps.-Plutarch, *Lives of the Ten Orators* [Antiphon], 833B, who records three different—and incompatible—versions of Antiphon's death.

82. On the delicate question of the two Antiphons, see the synthesis of Narcy (1989).

83. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, 6.50 (on Diogenes the Cynic): 'On being asked by a tyrant what bronze is best for a statue, he replied, "That of which Harmodius and Aristogiton were moulded".'

84. See, for example, Lenfant (2002) 140.

85. *Rhetoric*, 2.6.1385a8–13: 'And they are more likely to be ashamed when they have to be seen and to associate openly with those who are aware of their disgrace. Wherefore the tragic poet Antiphon, when he was about to be flogged to death by order of Dionysius, seeing that those who were to die with him covered their faces as they passed through the gates, said, "Why cover your faces? Is it because you are afraid that one of the crowd should see you tomorrow?"'

86. Cf. Ps.-Plutarch, *Lives of the Ten Orators* [Antiphon], 833B; Plutarch, *How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend*, 68A; Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*, 500; Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, 6.50.

87. *How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend,* 68A: ‘As badly (*kakōs*) answered Antiphon, when the question was up for discussion in the presence of Dionysius as to “What is the best kind of bronze” and he said, “The kind from which they fashioned the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton at Athens”.’

88. See Scheid (1984) 177–190: ‘The image of the defiled tyrant, which was episodic or paradigmatic before the Empire, rapidly became—together with its contrary, apotheosis—the only means of control over a power overstepping all norms.’

89. See for example, on the particular case of statuary, Elsner (2007) 58–66.

90. Xenophon’s comment on this is well-known: ‘Instead of avenging them, the cities heap honours on the slayers of the tyrant; and, whereas they exclude the murderers of private persons from the sanctuaries, the cities, so far from treating assassins in the same manner, actually put up statues of them in the sanctuaries’ (*Hiero*, 4.5). See, more generally, Knoepfler (2001b) 211–212.

91. Hermogenes, *On Issues [peri tōn staseōn]*, 60.1–3 Heath (= 4.2 Patillon); ‘A Philosopher persuades a tyrant to abdicate and claims the reward [*to gēras*]. The presentation: ‘I put an end to the tyranny, and should receive a reward [*dōrean*]”.’ (transl. Heath [1995] *ad loc.*). For a parallel formulation, cf. Anonymous Seguerianus, 217; Sopatros, *Quaest.*, 95–98. At the time, tyrannicides were clearly a popular rhetorical subject: cf. e.g. Hermogenes, *On Issues*, 47.18–23 Heath (= 3.11 Patillon) and *On Issues*, 51.1–4 Heath (= 3.19 Patillon); Ps.-Hermogenes, *On Invention*, 2.6.4.

92. Thucydides takes a malicious pleasure in emphasising that Hipparchus held no power at all: ‘Hipparchus, however, as it fell out, having become famous by his tragic fate, obtained in aftertime the credit also of having been tyrant’ (6.55.4). On the mistake made by Harmodius and Aristogiton, cf. Thucydides, 6.57.2–3.

93. See, for example, Koch-Harnack (1983), whose work is mainly devoted to a study of illustrated representations.

94. On the semantic depth of the term *trophē*, see Demont (1982) 111–112.

95. Thucydides, 6.55.1–3, and *supra*, p. 17.

96. See *supra*, p. 151.

97. *The Lover of Lies*, 3: ‘and the Athenians assert that Erichthonius sprang from the earth and that the first men came out of the soil of Attica like vegetables’.

98. Richter (1958) 10.

99. See Cassin (1986); Rispoli (1988); Webb (2009) 120 and 169 (on the role of *plasma*, in between visual and rhetorical tradition).

100. Translation W. H. S. Jones, Loeb, modified.

101. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 7.23.87; 34.19.72. In his lost work *De gloria*, Cicero may have been referring to the statue on the Acropolis and the story of Leaina. See the commentary of Philargyrius on Virgil’s *Eclogues: Cicero de gloria libro [. . .] sic ait: Statuerunt simulacrum Leaenae* (Thilo and Hagen (1887) 45 = *Expl. In Verg. Buc.*, 11.63). See Keesling (2005) 58 (and n. 52).

102. *British Museum* B 49 = *ABV* 326, mentioned by Boardman (1986) 93–96. The parallel is not at all convincing: on the amphora mentioned by Boardman, the lion is an architectural element placed on an architrave, not a sculpture in the round.

103. See Forrest (1995) 240–241, according to whom the line ‘I won’t crouch down like the lioness on a cheese grater [*ou stēsomai leain’ epi turoknēstidos*]’ might be an allusion to

Leaina. The ‘cheese grater’ (*turoknēstidos*) is a veiled reference to the tyrannicide, in which Aristophanes plays on the proximity in the sounds of *turos* and *turannos*. The women are thus swearing not to ride any man, not even a tyrannicide, in the way that a Leaina would (for the term also designates a sexual position).

104. Vansina (1965) 36–39; Vansina *(*1985) 44–45, 157–158, 187–188—cited by Keesling (2005) 43.

105. Plutarch, *On Talkativeness*, 505F; Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, 8.45. See Keesling (2005) 45.

106. Thucydides, 1.20.2 and 6.57.3. See *supra*, p. 36 and p. 84.

107. Cf. Scholia to Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 231. See Ogden (1999) 249–250 and 260–262; Keesling (2005) 62.

108. Pausanias, 2.2.4; Athenaeus, 6.253B and 13.577D.

109. See *supra*, p. 123. Moreover, it was on the Acropolis, in the *opisthodomos* of the Parthenon (not far from the statue of the lioness) that the Macedonian king had chosen to live, surrounded by his companions, thereby deeply shocking Plutarch (*Demetrius*, 24.1).

110. Possibly the effigy possessed a protective and apotropaic function. Leaina’s statue may be part of the long tradition of lions’ being placed to guard the doors of fortified places, as in Mycenae. See also Triomphe (1989) 177.

111. On this statue of Aphrodite, see Boardman (1985) 79–80. The base of the statue has probably been found; it bears the inscription (partially restored): ‘Dedicated by Callias. Work by Calamis’ (Raubitschek [1949] 152–153, no. 136).

112. On Aphrodite’s various functions, see, for example, Salviat and Croissant (1966), and Pironti (2005) and (2007).

113. Plutarch, *On Talkativeness*, 505E-F. Cf. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 7.23.87.

114. See Keesling (2005) 59 (and n. 55), and Prioux (2007) 182, n. 130. The fact is that, if the tongue was hanging out—which it probably was, for otherwise spectators would hardly have noticed that later it was missing—this appended item would have been particularly vulnerable to the ravages of time.

115. Cf. Ps.-Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 18.4–5, and *supra*, p. 62.

116. The death of Zeno of Elea condensed and reflected the traditions that circulated around the death of Aristogiton and the end of Leaina. Cf. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, 9.26–27: ‘Having undertaken to topple the tyrant Nearchus (or, some say, Diomedon), he was arrested [. . .]. When interrogated about his accomplices and the weapons that he had had delivered to Lipara, he cited the names of all the tyrant’s own friends, hoping thereby to set him apart from his own friends. Then, on the pretext of whispering confidential information about certain people, he bit the tyrant savagely on the ear and only released him when he was mortally wounded (. . .). *Eventually, he severed his own tongue with his teeth and spat it into the tyrant’s face.*’

117. On the parallelism between the two terms, see Kurke (1997) 117–119.

118. A damper was put upon this perfect symmetry: Leaina seems not to have been honoured by a statue in her image, which is a sign of the persistence of a hierarchical gap that, in the minds of the authors of the Second Sophistic, set the Liberators apart from the *hetaira.*

119. See, for example, Camp (2001) 223–225.

Epilogue

1. Among an abundant literature, see, for example, Ambrose (2010) 9, according to whom the story of Harmodius and Aristogiton shows that, for the Athenians, homosexuality was associated with both heroism and civic responsibility.

2. Cf. e.g. N. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 1.2; 1.58; 2.2. Bodin 1606 [1576], Book IV, chap. 1.

3. Frison (2005).

4. *De la puissance légitime du prince sur le peuple, et du peuple sur le prince,* Geneva, 1581, p. 211. See Turchetti (2001) 439.

5. See Tolbert Roberts (1994).

6. Azoulay (2014) [2010] 161. We should remember that Harmodius and Aristogiton appear in Plutarch only in the *Moralia*, a work that was far less read than his *Parallel Lives*.

7. See Cottret (2009) 19–20.

8. Montaigne (1877) [1580], Book I, chap. XXVII [On Friendship], p. 106.

9. Montaigne (1877) [1580] 233. His friend Etienne de La Boétie suggested a more tolerant attitude in his *Discours sur la servitude volontaire*, which was published six years earlier than Montaigne's *Essais* (La Boétie [2008] [1574] 60): 'Liberty, as if to reveal her nature, seems to have given them new strength. Harmodius and Aristogiton, Thrasybulus, Brutus the Elder, Valerianus and Dion achieved successfully what they planned virtuously; for hardly ever does good fortune fail a strong will.' All the same, the two Athenians were cited in a chain of *exempla*, without the author's paying them particular attention.

10. The painter was here inspired by a late version of the legend, referred to by Tertullian (*Apology*, 50.8) and Polyaenus (*Strategemata*, 8.45).

11. Fénelon (1760) [1712] 41. Fénelon's *Dialogues des morts* appeared in successive waves. Although the first few dialogues were published as early as 1700, it was not until 1712 (the year of the Duke of Burgundy's death) that a collection of forty-five dialogues appeared. After Fénelon's death, the corpus gradually grew until it attained its definitive form with the edition of *Les œuvres complètes de Fénelon*, known as the Versailles edition, in 1823. This comprises seventy-nine dialogues: fifty-one of ancient figures and twenty-eight of moderns.

12. Rollin (1790) [1731–1738] vol. 2, 395.

13. Rollin (1790) [1731–1738] vol. 2, 398. Rollin then lingers on the story of Leaina and her statue (p. 398–399).

14. In the *Encyclopédie* edited by Diderot and D'Alembert, the Chevalier Louis de Jaucourt mentions the two tyrannicides four times, but never gives their full history: in the 'Immunity' article (vol. VIII, p. 581), he mentions their statues on the Agora and the exemptions granted to their descendants; in his account of the Panathenaea (vol. XI, p. 810), he mentions songs in honour of Harmodius, Aristogiton, and Thrasybulus; in the article 'Ancient Sculptors' (vol. XIV, p. 828), it is Leaina who attracts his attention; finally, in the article 'Temples of Mars' (vol. XVI, p. 75), he alludes to the effigies of the two liberators situated not far from the Temple of Ares, on the Agora.

15. Barthélemy (1806) [1788] 150–153. This work, published in 1788, attracted much attention throughout the whole of Europe. The story resulted from thirty years of research and was based on first-hand knowledge that the author had acquired in the Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque du Roi.

16. Hölderlin (1990) [1797–1799] 50–51: '"When Harmodius and Aristogiton were alive", someone cried at last, 'friendship' still existed in the world." That pleased me too much for me to remain silent. "We should twine you a wreath in reward for those words!".'

17. Chenier (1826) 276.

18. In a vast bibliography, see, for example, Bouineau (1986); Dubuisson (1989); Mossé (1989). There were few exceptions to this anti-Athenian trend: Cornelius de Pauw and Camille Desmoulin are the most salient ones.

19. Chateaubriand (1815) [1797] Part 1, chapter 11, p. 37.

20. *Ibid*. The 'satellite' is none other than Billaud-Varenne, who had apparently claimed that someone had come to his home to assassinate him.

21. He was nevertheless careful, despite everything, to say nothing about the homosexual relations that bound the two lovers together, and presented them simply as faithful friends, each ready to sacrifice himself for the other: 'Friendship offered this sacrifice, equally ingenious and terrible, to the *manes* of Harmodius, who had been massacred by the guards of the tyrant' (*ibid.*).

22. Chateaubriand (1815) Part 1, chap. 19, p. 87.

23. Cooper (1916) 109–110.

24. G. G. Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto III, xx: 'all that most endears / Glory is when the myrtle wreathes a sword / Such as Harmodius drew on Athens' tyrant lord'.

25. A. de Musset, *Lorenzaccio*, III, 3, 418.

26. Hugo 1977 [1853], Book III, 122–125, 'Le bord de mer'.

27. As can be seen from the catalogues produced by Grunchec (1983–1986) and Grunchec (1986). The subject is also absent from the catalogue of sculptures produced in the volume by Haskell and Penny (1981).

28. See von Stackelberg (1837) 33–35, together with the comments of Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 73, who, however, is ignorant of the parallel identification of the group by Fauvel. On this subject, see Beschi (1977). On the career of Fauvel, see Zambon (2010).

29. Friederichs (1859) col. 65–72. See Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 62 (and n. 36). In the fifteenth century, both copies were to be found in a loggia of the *Palazzo Medici-Madama* in Rome. The damaged statue of Aristogiton was described as follows in a 1566 inventory: '*Gladiatore nudo in piedi senza testa e braccia*'. The effigy of Harmodius was presented in similar fashion: '*Moro nudo gladiatore con la testa, senza braccia e gambe*'.

30. Fehr (1989) [1984] 42–52, whose analyses I follow here.

31. Michaud 2004 [1996] 105.

32. See Bloch 1991 [1935] 85–87.

33. See *supra,* pp. 41–42.

34. Buschor (1940).

35. See St. Clair (2006) 85–86, on the subject of *Das Kriegertum der Parthenonzeit* [*Warriorhood in the time of the Parthenon*], published in 1943, which put the Parthenon at the service of Nazi German war ideology: see Buschor (1943). In his work of synthesis, *Vom Sinn der griechischen Standbilder* (Buschor 1942), Ernst Buschor included, as the last illustration of his book, a Nazi sculpture by B. Bleeker, *The Dead Warrior*—carefully omitted from the republication of 1977 and also from the English translation of 1980. See Hurwit (1994) 359, n. 8.

36. See *supra*, p. 42.

37. Fehr (1989) [1984] 49, citing Hartmann (1976). See Brantl (2007) 74–80.

38. The great archaeologist Karl Schefold, who, in 1935, decided to leave Germany because of the racial laws that affected his wife, took an interest in the group from an opposite point of view, that of the Switzerland where he had elected to live, and he devoted two

important articles to them. On this subject, see Schweitzer (2009) 242–243; Hölscher (2010) 256–257.

39. In the 1950s, Harmodius also gave his name to the *adagio* movement in the ballet *Spartacus*, composed by Khachaturian, one of the 'official' composers of the Soviet Union, a professor at the Moscow Conservatory, and a deputy in the Supreme Soviet. Juggling with ancient references, the musician gave the tyrannicide's name to one of Spartacus' friends who was devoted to the cause of liberty, but who nevertheless betrayed his companion.

40. 'The two figures are, moreover, linked together by a piece of material which, held by the woman, covers the man's right thigh and lower body': Fehr (1989) [1984] 46. See also Ginzburg (2001) 116–123.

41. Vera Mukhina had travelled in Italy and so had been able to look at the copies of the Tyrannicides in Naples. See Mukhina (2004).

42. Fehr (1989) [1984] 48.

43. W. Benjamin completed *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* in 1935, but the work was not published until the 1950s. Now see Benjamin (2008).

44. See Hennion and Latour (1996).

Conclusion

1. Pausanias mentions the statues of Pyrrhus and of Lysimachus in quick succession (1.9.4–1.11.1), and it is perfectly possible (although impossible to prove) that they were honoured together for their participation in the city's liberation in 287.

2. See Ridgway (1984) 6–11 and 82; Geominy (1999); Stähli (2008) 15–34. Even in bronze sculpture, several sculptures could derive from one single model, without this implying that they were all completely identical, as is proved by the Riace bronzes, which represent two warriors that possess a certain number of distinctive features: see Mattusch (1996) 141–190.

3. Unless we assume that the two groups resembled each other so closely as to be hardly distinguishable, as von Hees-Landwehr (1985) supposes, although his hypothesis has been received with a general scepticism. See *supra*, p. 201, n. 34.

4. Vernant 2006 [1965].

5. Vernant 2006 [1965] 327.

6. Thucydides, 1.94.1–2. On this figure, see Bourriot (1982).

7. Herodotus, 5.32; Thucydides, 1.95.1: 'Everything indicated an imitation of tyrants rather than an ordinary military command', and 1.128.3. On Pausanias' alleged Persian sympathies, see Thucydides, 1.128.4–129.3.

8. Thucydides, 1.134.1–4; Pausanias, 9.38.5.

9. Thucydides, 1.134.4 (and the comments of Ducat [1976] 243, n. 153). Cf. Pausanias, 3.17.7.

10. Ellinger (2005) 86–93, with bibliography. See also Richer (2012) 225–229.

11. Vernant (1990a) 78–79. However, this hypothesis does not explain why the Spartans had to set up two statues to mark a single corpse: did the first take the place of the (still) living suppliant, the second that of the dead body? Or was one the double of the corpse, the other that of its ghost? Returning to the reasoning of Chris Faraone, Ellinger (2005) 86–93, points out that bewitchment figurines were often produced in pairs in the Greek world.

12. Richer (2012) 226, for his part, thinks that the first effigy was supposed to 'redeem the visible corpse that had been struck down by famine, while the other was dedicated in

order to represent Pausanias' spiritual double'. More generally, this author establishes a connection between these operations involving doubles and the underlying presence of a twinned model that is linked with the close relations maintained between the Spartan kings and the Dioscuri (p. 231–233).

13. There can be very little doubt about the honorific aspect of these statues. The regent Pausanias was honoured by a cenotaph in the vicinity of the acropolis of Sparta, alongside that of Leonidas, and shared the latter's honours; cf. Pausanias, 3.14.1.

14. See *supra*, p. 20.

15. Some historians trace this juridico-religious solution (the guaranteed legal purity of whoever kills a tyrant) to the very early fifth century: it would be expressed in the oath sworn by members of the Boule, the text of which is unfortunately missing. But such an extrapolation is, to put it mildly, risky, for it ignores the long process of elaboration that culminated in the decree of Demophantus, nearly one hundred years later. *Contra* Friedel (1937) 40–46, and Berve (1967) I, 73.

16. Hoffmann and Deniaux (2009) 28, and here, *supra*, p. 20.

17. This hypothesis would also favour an early date for the first statuary group—maybe even as early as 510—if it truly was a matter of spiriting away the *miasma* created by the murder of Hipparchus.

18. See *supra*, pp. 83–86.

19. Thucydides, 1.135.1: 'Accordingly, the Athenians retorted by telling the Lacedaemonians to drive out what the god himself had pronounced to be a curse [*agos*].'

20. From this point of view, see Hölscher (2010) in the wake of Fehr (1989) [1984], which was published just before the appearance of *Lieux de mémoire*, the major collective undertaking directed by Pierre Nora in 1984 and 1992.

21. See Shear (2012a) 42–52. As well as Herodotus, Thucydides, and Aristophanes, whose attitudes are mentioned hereinbefore, a speech of Isocrates likewise reflects this alternative memory of the liberation of Athens. Cf. Isocrates, *On the Team of Horses*, 16.25–27, in which the Younger Alcibiades draws attention to his prestigious genealogy and emphasises the role played by his family in the city's liberation, passing in silence over the action of Harmodius and Aristogiton.

22. See, for example, Hargrove (1989) and, more generally, Assmann and Czaplicka (1995).

23. Diodorus Siculus (20.46.2) refers to the statues of the Antigonids, but in this respect they were but one case among many others; see *supra*, pp. 125–131. What was really extraordinary about the honours granted to Antigonus the One-eyed and his son, Demetrius Poliorcetes, was not so much the permission for a statue close to the Tyrannicides, but the establishment of a cult in their honour and their inclusion among the eponymous heroes of the city—even at the cost of jeopardising the foundations of the Cleisthenic regime.

24. See Huet and Valette-Cagnac (eds.) (2005).

25. Habermas (1989) [1962]. For an assessment of the adaptation of this concept to Greek history, see Azoulay (2011) 63–76.

26. See *supra*, pp. 122–124.

27. On Polybius' ferocious criticisms on this subject, see *supra*, p. 131.

28. See Neer (2010) 80: 'Every desiring beholder risks occupying the role of Hipparkhos.'

29. See *supra*, pp. 112–113.

30. See *supra*, pp. 58–60.

31. Yourcenar (1989) 14.

Appendix

1. Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum L 515 = *ARV*² 256, 5 = *Add*² 204 (Syriskos Painter). On the dating of the vase, see, for example, Schmidt (2009) 221.

2. See Carpenter (1997) 176, and Schmidt (2009) 223.

3. *Villa Giulia*, Inv. 50321. These four fragments, published originally by Beazley (1948) 26–28, were reconsidered by Bicknell (1970) 159–160. For a sketched-in reproduction, see Schmidt (2009) 224, and Oenbrink (2004) 398.

4. Bicknell (1970) 159–160. In the *Athenian Constitution* (18.4), Ps.-Aristotle challenges the tradition recorded by Thucydides, emphasising that the procession at that time included no weaponry.

5. Vienna, Inv. 5247. This was one of the last black-figure Attic vases (apart from the Panathenaic amphoras). On the disputed dating of this lecythus, see *supra*, p. 26 and p. 200, n. 22.

6. See Kron (1976) 228–241; Shear, Jr. (1970) 219–220; Mattusch (1994). The first allusion to the monument of the Eponymous Heroes goes back to Aristophanes' *Knights* (vv. 977–980), in 424 B.C. According to Shear, the group was installed shortly before, in about 430–425. At any rate, it was from this moment onward that, on painted vases, Athenian heroes were no longer represented solely as single figures, but were sometimes treated as a coherent group.

7. Schmidt (2009) 225.

8. See Schnapp and Lissarrague (2007) 42–43.

9. We know of at least four examples: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (04.1343; weight: 16.02 g); New York, E. T. Newell Collection (15.91 g.); British Museum (AN688431001, 15.94 g.); private sale (15.94 g.). See von Fritz (1912) 9, no. 120.

10. These coins cannot be dated with certainty. Moggi (1974) 753–763, places their minting as early as 477 B.C.; Lacroix (1946) 221, thinks that they can be dated to the first half of the fifth century. On the other hand, Brunnsåker (1971) [1955] 99–100 and 117–120, favours a later dating of between 430 and 420. There is no decisive argument to make it possible to resolve the controversy.

11. *IG* I³ 1453 (= M&L 45). The date of the decree remains a matter of disagreement: some favour 450/440, others sometime after the start of the Peloponnesian War. See the recent summary by Brun (2005) no. 18.

12. Laloux (1971) 46–57.

13. Gaia and Erichthonius: *c*. 440–415 B.C., electrum stater 16.05 g, British Museum, AN687613001. Cecrops: electrum stater, 16.11 g, British Museum, AN687612001; Triptolemus: *c*. 430–400, electrum stater 16.05 g (private sale); Athena, electrum stater, 19.99 g, AN688412001. See von Fritze (1912) 12, no. 163 and pl. V, 11, and Greenwell (1887) 25 and 61–65. The electrum coinage of Cyzicus is characterised by a profusion of types and as many as 270 different images on official coins. See Hurter and Liewald (2002) 21–39, pl. 1–5.

14. See Kardara (1951).

15. On Theseus as a democratic leader, cf. already e.g. Euripides, *Suppliants*, 346–358 and 399–408 (the play was presented in 422/421 B.C.). See Jaccottet (2008) 48.

16. Even if the temple was completed only after the peace of Nicias in 421 and the cult statues were not installed until 416/415, the whole project and the initial works were, if not Periclean, at least from the Periclean period. See Camp (1986) 87, who suggests a chronological period between 460 and 450/448 for the launching of the project.

17. Rolley (1999) 144–145.

18. It is, however, risky to associate the Tyrannicides with the western facade of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (*c*. 470–457 B.C.). It is true that Theseus and Pirithoos are represented in the pose of Harmodius, one each side of a central Apollo. But in the absence of some other figure reproducing the pose of Aristogiton, the reference must, rather, relate to the iconography of Apollo who, in the battles against the Giants, was represented in precisely that pose. *Contra* Stansbury-O'Donnell (2011) 136–137.

19. So the supposed assimilation of the polemarch Callimachus to Harmodius on the frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike, completed in the course of the 420s B.C., cannot, in the absence of another figure represented in the pose of Aristogiton, be supported, despite the arguments produced by Harrison (1972) 353–378, and repeated by Taylor (1991) [1981] 71–76.

20. On this subject, see Lissarrague (2004). So a whole series of unfounded allusions must be dismissed. Far from being characteristic solely of the Tyrannicide, the 'Harmodius blow' was a means of coping with a very common artistic problem: how to represent a warrior fighting facing forward. Such is the case, for example, of a number of Amazonomachies or representations of Apollo fighting the Giants: cf. *ARV* 274.1 (bowl by the painter of the Paris Gigantomachy, *c.* 475/470 B.C.). On this subject, see Shefton (1960) 176, n. 26.

21. See Benndorf (1869) 107, and Washburn (1918) 146.

22. The Elgin Throne, dating from the second half of the fourth century, bears on one side a representation of the Tyrannicides and, on the other, an image of Theseus fighting the Amazons. See *supra*, pp. 102–105.

23. See Hudeczek (1972/1973) 134–149; Taylor (1991) [1981] 36–70; Neils (1987) 131; De Cesare (1997) 61–66 (without any chronological perspective, the author refers only briefly to the subject, limiting herself to the topic of Theseus); Servadei (2005) 40, 51, and 213; Tanner (2006) 184–187, fig. 4.6.

24. Taylor (1991) [1981] 52–58.

25. London, British Museum, E 84 = *ARV*^{2} 1269, 4.

26. Madrid, *Museo Arqueológico*, no. 11265 = *ARV*^{2} 1174, 1 = Add^2 339. The vase has been the central subject of an entire colloquium: Olmos Romero (1992).

27. A kylix preserved in Harrow School Museum probably came from Vulci and is attributed to the Phiale Painter. It repeats the same visual canvas so closely that it has sometimes been attributed to the Kodros Painter, but it does so with an undeniable originality: the exploits of Theseus are depicted not only on the outside of the bowl, but also inside, surrounding the *tondo*, as if in a mirror. Harrow, *School Museum*, no. 52, Gardner Wilkinson Collection 1864.52 = *AVM*, p. 426 no. 8 (where Beazley attributes the vase to the Kodros Painter) = *ARV* 660, 154 (but it is no longer mentioned in *ARV*^{2}). See Oakley (1990) pl. 138–139, who dates the bowl to before 450 (p. 203) and Gaunt (2005) 20–22 and pl. 22–25.

28. Carpenter (1997) 178.

29. *Ibid.*: 'If we were intended to think of Harmodius, I wonder if we weren't supposed to chuckle—somehow a foot-bath lacks the grandeur of a sword.'

30. See von den Hoff (2001) 83, n. 40: 'The grotesque weapon in Theseus' hand makes this [i.e. an explicit comparison to the statues of the "Founders of Democracy"] in this case rather improbable.

31. Taylor (1991) [1981] 62–63.

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ABBREVIATIONS FOR FRAGMENTS, INSCRIPTIONS, AND ICONOGRAPHIC COLLECTIONS:

- **Fragments**
  - *CEG* I = *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca, saeculorum VIII–V a.chr.n*, vol. 1, ed. P. A. Hansen, Berlin and New York, 1983.
  - *CEG* II = *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca, seculi IV a.chr.n*, vol. 2, ed. P. A. Hansen, Berlin and New York, 1989.
  - Carey = *Lysiae Orationes cum fragmentis*, ed. C. Carey, Oxford [Oxford Classical Texts], 2007.
  - Consbruch = *De veterum peri poiêmatos doctrina*, ed. M. Consbruch, Bratislava, 1890.
  - Diehl = *Anthologia lyrica graeca.* Vol. II*, Poetae Melici. Chori. Peplus Aristoteleus. Scolia. Carmina Popularia. Poetae Alexandrini*, ed. E. Diehl, Leipzig, 1925.
  - *FGrHist* = *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, ed. F. Jacoby, Berlin, 1922–1930 (new edn., Leiden, 15 vols., 1968–1969).
  - K.-A. = *Poetae Comici Graeci*, ed. R. Kassel and C. Austin, Berlin, 1984–.
  - Latte = *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, 4 vols., ed. K. Latte, P. A. Hansen, and I. C. Cunningham, Copenhagen, 1953–2009.
  - Radt = *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, vol. III: Aischylos,* ed. S. Radt, Göttingen, 1985.

Thalheim = *Lysiae Orationes recensuit Theodorus Thalheim. Editio maior*, Leipzig [Teubner], 1901.

- **Collections of Inscriptions and Commentaries**

Brun = *Impérialisme et démocratie. Inscriptions de l'époque classique*, ed. P. Brun, Paris, 2005.

Bull. ép. = Bulletin épigraphique of the *Revue des Études Grecques*.

IG I^3 = *Inscriptiones Graecae.* Vol. I (3d edn.), *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis Anno Anteriores*, ed. D. M. Lewis, 3 vols., Berlin, 1981–1998.

IG II^2 = *Inscriptiones Graecae.* Vol. II (2d edn.), *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis Anno Posteriores*, ed. J. Kirchner, 5 vols., Berlin, 1913–1940.

IG XII, 3 = *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Vol. XII, Fasc. 3: *Inscriptiones Symes Teutlussae Teli Nisyri Astypalaeae Anaphes Therae et Therasiae Pholegandri Meli Cimoli*, ed. C. Hiller von Gärtringen, Berlin, 1898.

IG XII, 5 = *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Vol. XII, Fasc. 5: *Inscriptiones Cycladum. Pars I. Inscriptiones Cycladum praeter Tenum*, ed. C. Hiller von Gärtringen, Berlin, 1903.

IG XII, 6 = *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Vol. XII, Fasc. 6: *Inscriptiones Chii et Sami cum Corassiis Icariaque, Pars I*, ed. K. Hallof, Berlin, 2000.

ICos = *Iscrizioni di Cos*, I–II, ed. M. Segre, Rome, 1993.

I. Erythrai = *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai*, ed. H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach, Bonn, 1972–1973.

I. Ilion = *Die Inschriften von Ilion*, ed. P. Frisch, Bonn, 1975.

I. Kyme = *Die Inschriften von Kyme*, ed. H. Engelmann, Berlin, 1976.

I. Priene = *Die Inschriften von Priene*, ed. C. Hiller von Gärtringen, Berlin, 1906.

IvOl = *Inschriften von Olympia,* Olympia V, ed. W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold, Berlin, 1896.

ILLRP = *Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae* I, ed. A. Degrassi, Florence, 1957.

M&L = *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.: To the End of the Fifth Century b.c.*, ed. R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, vol. 1, Oxford, 1969. [rev. ed. 1988].

OGIS **=** *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, ed. W. Dittenberger, Leipzig, 1903–1905.

Syll.^{3} = *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum* (3d edn.), ed. Hiller von Gärtringen C., 3 vols., Leipzig, 1915–1924.

SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, ed. various, 58 vols. to date (Leiden, 1923–1971; Alphen, 1979–1980; Leiden, 1982–).

StV = *Die Staatsverträge der antiken Welt,* vol. 3, ed. H. Schmitt, Munich, 1969.

- **Iconographic Collections**

ABV = J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford, 1956.

Add^2 = T. H. Carpenter, ed., *Beazley Addenda. Additional references to ABV, ARV^2, and Paralipomena*, 2d edn., Oxford, 1989.

ARV = *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford, 1942.

ARV^2 = J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 2d edn., Oxford, 1963.

LIMC = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, ed. L. Kahil, 8 vols., Zurich, 1981–1997.

Paralipomena = J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena*, Oxford, 1971.
CVA = *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum.*

- **Catalogues**
  Kotsidu = H. Kotsidu, *Timè kai doxa: Ehrungen für hellenistische Herrscher im griechischen Mutterland und in Kleinasien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der archäologischen Denkmäler*, Berlin, 2000.
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